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MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURES

BY
MABEL L. WALKER

A DISSERTATION
Submitted to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University, in Conformity with the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
1930

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PREFACE

The following study is an attempt to give concrete expression to some recent tendencies in municipal government. The information required has been gleaned from various sources—texts on municipal government and public finance, official reports, pamphlets and magazine and newspaper articles. In addition, contacts were made with approximately five hundred different people through correspondence or interviews.

The list of all those who gave valuable assistance to the undertaking is too lengthy to be included. However, the author wishes to express her particular indebtedness to the following: Professor Jacob H. Hollander, Professor George E. Barnett and Professor W. O. Weyforth of the Department of Political Economy in the Johns Hopkins University; Mr. Joseph L. Wheeler, Librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore; Dr. Horace E. Flack and Miss Ella Hitchcock of the Department of Legislative Reference, Baltimore; Mr. Herbert J. Fallin, Director of the Bureau of Disbursements, Baltimore; Miss Helen Butler who assisted with the statistical work; Miss Dorothy Dawes who made the charts contained in the study; Miss Margaret Goodell of Bryn Mawr College who subjected the entire manuscript to a critical examination; and to numer-

ous officials of the city governments, research bureaus and chambers of commerce of the various cities visited. Sincere gratitude is felt toward the many persons who so kindly answered requests for information either by correspondence or through interviews, and to several personal friends who assisted in various ways.

The author wishes also to express her appreciation of the permission received from Mr. Harold S. Buttenheim, Editor of *The American City,* Mr. Hamilton Owens, Editor of the Baltimore *Evening Sun,* and Mr. H. W. Dodds, Editor of the *National Municipal Review,* to include in this study large portions of articles which had previously appeared in their publications. Chapter Four appeared in an abridged form under the title, " Rating Cities According to the Services Which Their Citizens Are Getting," in the July, 1929, issue of *The American City.* Extracts from Chapter Seven were published in a series of articles on budget making in the large cities, in the Baltimore *Evening Sun,* October, 1929, to January, 1930. This chapter also appeared in a condensed form in the *National Municipal Review* of May, 1930. The cooperation of the U. S. Bureau of the Census in permitting the use of the 1927 figures of *Financial Statistics of Cities* several months before publication greatly facilitated the statistical work. Likewise, the 1928 figures used in Table XI and Chart I were obtained through the courtesy of the Bureau just before this study went to press and

some time before the publication of 1928 *Financial Statistics of Cities.*

The author is grateful to the Lessing Rosenthal Fund for Economic Research, which has provided the necessary funds for publishing this volume.

M. L. W.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	Preface	v
I.	Accents in City Government	1
II.	Progressive Criteria of Municipal Administration	12
III.	A Theory of Expenditure	28
IV.	Grading Cities According to Service Rendered	52
V.	Factors Affecting the Rating	112
VI.	Tendencies in Budget Distribution	135
VII.	Restraints Upon Budget Distribution	162
VIII.	Conclusion	179
	Bibliography	183
	Index	191
	Vita	199

CHAPTER I

Accents in City Government

The test of good public expenditure, as we have already shown, is not in the aggregate expenditure, but in the relative amounts which are assigned to the several heads from time to time.—G. Findlay Shirras.

Municipal administration as it is carried on today implies something far more than was inherent in the classical idea of government. It is a social experiment that intimately affects our lives. No city dweller and only a portion of the rural population can escape its influence. Ignore the subject as he may, the citizen's daily comfort will depend in countless ways upon the quality of the government of the city in which he lives.

America is in a process of discovering its cities. The tremendous possibilities of urban life are beginning to be sensed. With this new consciousness there has come also a grim realization that the work ahead will be very difficult indeed, and that the cities stand in need of the best talent that the country can provide in varied lines of activity—municipal administration, finance, engineering, education, medicine, criminology, city planning, art, recreation and many others. This represents a radical departure in thought from the early days when any man was con-

sidered capable of filling any position in the public service.[1]

Cities of the past have had varied ideals. Some desired military glory, others magnificent public works. Commercial greatness has likewise been often sought. Apparently the two great desiderata of American municipalities are size and the attraction of new industries. Although they still continue in full force, here and there may be found expressions of a newer, more social ideal—the desire to make the city the best possible place in which to live.[2] As machinery tends to release us from the grinding hours of toil, we are taking time to appraise our surroundings and we find that more than half of the population are living in conglomerations of huddled houses, narrow streets and often ungainly skyscrapers; the whole relieved by patches of park, a few ornate buildings to be displayed to chance visitors and a fringe of more or less attractive suburbs. Add dirty streets and paper strewed parks; cover the whole with a pall of smoke and many noises and a picture of our average American city results. We have wealth. We have size. We are struggling for safety, health, education and recrea-

[1] Austin F. MacDonald, *American City Government and Administration,* p. 61.

[2] John Ihlder, *A Standard of Community Excellence* or *The Kind of a Town We Would Like to Live In.*

Ray M. Hudson, *What Does It Profit a City to Become Big?*

Ray M. Hudson, *Ours Is a Good Town to Live In.*

tion and here and there are hints of the possibilities of beauty and cleanliness.

To be livable a city must be many-sided. Its economic prestige must be maintained and increased, for upon this everything else hinges; but it must also be wholesome, healthy and cultured, and shall we dare to hope, some day beautiful and well planned, not just in spots, but pleasant throughout. Cities vary widely in their standards of community living. Some have undoubtedly progressed much further than others.

Particularly do they vary in the emphasis given to different functions. In one community we find liberal provision for schools, libraries, museums and recreation. In another, schools are supported meagerly and scant attention is paid to other cultural functions. It is this haphazard, lopsided development of our cities that seems particularly worthy of attention.

Municipal government in this country is largely an exhibition of accents. We find St. Louis spending 17.7% of its budget for police protection, as compared with Cincinnati which devotes to that purpose only 6.0%. Milwaukee spends 6.3% of its funds for recreational purposes, but Cleveland allots to the same function only the meager amount of 1.6%. Examples could be multiplied indefinitely. The expenditure of funds for schools ranges from 27.6% of the total budget in Brookline, Massachusetts, to 60.6%

in Council Bluffs, Iowa, 62.3% in Ogden, Utah, and 65.9% in San José, California, all of which are cities of approximately the same size.[3] The question of emphasis thus assumes striking significance in any financial study of municipal functions. Why does one city tax itself heavily to carry on a function which is to a great extent ignored elsewhere?

Citizens demand certain services but it is not to be supposed that as a consequence they want the budget to become topheavy in that direction; instead they desire to see the revenues of the city so equitably distributed among the various functions that the physical, economic and social needs of the community may each be given the maximum amount of development out of the tax which the citizens are willing to pay. In other words, the unexpressed desire of the civic-minded taxpayer is that the budget shall be so carefully made up that the last dollar expended on any one function shall equal in social utility the last dollar expended on any other function. An ideal, it is true, which can no more be perfectly realized than that of 100% efficiency, but, none the less, a wholly desirable one toward which to work.

[3] These figures are taken from *Financial Statistics of Cities*, 1927, published by the U. S. Bureau of the Census. The percentages represent the proportion of the total budget devoted to the "operation and maintenance of general departments" (Table 14), and do not include outlays, interest and debt charges and expenditures for public utilities. State aid to schools would probably account for some of the disparity in school appropriations, but it would not explain the whole difference.

In discussing the budget distribution of different cities the basis of comparison used will be the percentage of the budget devoted to particular functions rather than per capita figures or absolute amounts. The use of absolute amounts would, of course, be valueless for a comparative study of cities of different size. There are also some objectionable features of the per capita basis, although that is the one usually employed. It takes into no consideration any difference in the wealth of a city or the density of its population.

But there are also psychological factors involved. The department head requests appropriations on a per capita basis; the budget maker assigns them *pro rata*. These different bases of appropriations illustrate the respective points of view of each official. The department head is interested in bringing his department up to a comparable standard with other cities. He compares its actual expenditures with those in cities of the same size or per capita figures for cities of different size. For example, in 1927 New Orleans expended $9.06 per capita on schools, while Boston was spending $19.19 per capita on the same function.[4] Such a comparison would naturally cause chagrin to the New Orleans department head and would constitute what he would consider a strong talking point.

[4] U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Financial Statistics of Cities*, 1927, pp. 326-327.

But the budget official has an entirely different line of reasoning. He can show that education actually receives a higher proportion of the total budget in New Orleans than it does in Boston, being 31.9% in the former and only 30.5% in the latter.[5] The budget maker has a more or less fixed amount of revenue, rigidly determined in some cases by legal or political considerations, which must somehow be distributed to cover all the various needs of the city government. He necessarily has to consider each departmental request in relation to all the other needs of the city government. If one gets a larger share, the other functions will get relatively less.

The solution that is being employed in some cities is that of pro rating the estimated revenues among the various functions on the basis of the previous year's allotments, with apparently some concessions being made in the direction of the loudest howls. It is rather interesting to note that as a result of this policy many municipal functions are developing real technique in the matter of emitting the proper yelp at the psychological moment.

Summary as this is, it is probably the most efficacious of any rule-of-thumb method that could be devised. The great disadvantage is that it offers no promise of correcting any inequalities of distribution that may have arisen in previous years. Consequently certain functions may continue to be starved

[5] Ibid., pp. 334-335.

year after year while others receive liberal grants. The city officials are certainly on the inside track so far as the substitution of a percentage for a per capita basis goes. In the interest of the taxpayer each request must be considered in relation to the other needs of the city.

This fundamental consideration was expressed several years ago in the very forward looking discussion of Professor H. C. Adams on public expenditures. "The claim of a definite appropriation is relative, and it is not until the function which it is intended to serve is fitted into the general scheme of social activities that the strength of this claim can be measured. In view, therefore, of the persistence with which the question of governmental functions asserts itself, one is justified in the conclusion that it holds the key to the theory of public expenditures."[6]

Striking dissimilarities of functional emphasis in city administration may be found in different countries. Even in two countries so closely related in cultural achievements as England and the United States there are wide divergences. A comparison of the average budget distribution in cities of the two countries reveals some interesting differences.

The following table shows the percentage of the local budgets devoted to the various functions in

[6] Henry Carter Adams, *The Science of Finance*, p. 54.

England in 1920-1921 and in the United States in 1921:

	England[7]	United States[8]
General government	8.9	9.6
Police and fire protection (including Justice in England)	7.7	20.6
Health (including Parks in England)	24.2	2.3
Sanitation	..	8.3
Highways	19.2	10.0
Charities	14.1	6.9
Schools and libraries	20.4	35.1
Recreation	..	3.3
Miscellaneous	4.7	4.0
Housing and town planning	.8	..

Differences in accounting, of course, keep the figures from being strictly comparable. Certainly, it cannot be inferred that nothing is spent on sanitation in the cities of England. Notwithstanding this, outstanding differences are noticeable in the two countries. Almost exactly the same proportion of the budget goes to general government in both countries. Miscellaneous expenditures are likewise comparable, but here the similarity ends. Health, highways, and poor relief are heavily emphasized in England, while schools and police and fire protection receive considerably more in this country. The budgets strongly reflect the national policies. Education has always been stressed in America. A widespread spirit of lawlessness, probably due in large measure to the

[7] Ernest S. Griffith, *The Modern Development of City Government,* I, 419.

[8] U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Financial Statistics of Cities,* 1921, p. 102.

dynamic factors of the cities' growth, coupled with inefficient and corrupt police administration have made the cost of protection very high. On the other hand, England has stressed health for a long time and, owing to an abnormal need for poor relief has become heavily involved in expenditures for charities.

But the wide divergence in cities of the same general type in the United States cannot be similarly explained away. All of the cities in this country need protection, public works, education and recreation and they need them in much the same proportion in the various communities. The cost of supplying these services will vary to some extent according to the size of the city, and allowance will always have to be made for peculiarities of the local situation, but the basic social needs in the different cities will remain rather generally the same, regardless of the politician's inability to interpret those needs. Is human life more valuable in Minneapolis than in Kansas City (Missouri), that the former should spend 5.3% of the budget, or $2.13 per capita, on conservation of health while the latter spends only 1.5%, or $.65 per capita? The average death rate for the four years from 1920 to 1923,[9] corrected for age and sex distribution was 11.4 deaths per thousand in Minneapolis and 15.4 in Kansas City.[10] Dr. Hermann M.

[9] The latest years for which the Bureau of the Census has computed mortality statistics corrected for age and sex distribution.

[10] U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Mortality Statistics,* 1923, p. 13.

Biggs, former State Health Commissioner of New York, declared that "Public health is purchasable. Within natural limitations any community can determine its own death rate."

The budget maker faces a tremendous problem. He must balance municipal functions, one against the other. Whether consciously or not, he determines whether he shall permit a few more houses to burn down, pickpockets to thrive, babies to die, traffic accidents to result, paupers to suffer, illiterates to remain untaught or children to miss their chance to play. All of these evils and many more are present. None of them can be entirely stamped out, but within limits all will diminish as appropriations to fight them are increased.

Which is socially more advantageous—to force the infant mortality rate down two babies per thousand, or to raise the average mental age of school children by a month or two? At what point does additional safety give way to increased commercial advantages, commercial advantages to educational needs, educational needs to recreation and recreation to esthetics and culture? Fantastic problems never to be answered, the average person might say. But they are answered every year in every city of the country. Blindly and unconsciously it is true, and in every city a different answer. But however confused and crude the methods may be, a decision is reached, appropriations are made, and city ser-

vices wither or flourish according to the nourishment provided. It may be that in the course of time the force of social opinion will correct the most glaring inequities, but this is an uncertain and tedious process and meanwhile the city has suffered from the lack of normal well-rounded development.

CHAPTER II

Progressive Criteria of Municipal Administration

American cities are entering a new era of city planning. The time has arrived, or is close at hand, when the experience gained from modern industrial efficiency is being applied to municipal development. Like a factory where each department is developed as a part of a comprehensive and coordinated whole, whose sole purpose is to turn out the best possible product at the lowest cost, a city is being considered as a single unit functioning for the purpose of making living, working and playing more agreeable and more economic.—Gardner S. Rogers.

Administrative criteria have progressed as cities have developed. There have been several such standards of an evolutionary character in the history of our American municipalities. Each succeeding one necessarily postulates the more or less successful attainment of the preceding.

In the period from 1840 until 1900 or later, the prime need of the cities was for honesty in government. With Tammany looting New York at the rate of several millions a year (police graft alone amounted to over $3,000,000 there in one year); with Samuel H. Ashbridge growing rich out of four years as mayor of Philadelphia, and Minneapolis, St. Louis and Pittsburgh each with its own type of plundering ring, not to mention less flamboyant types of graft taking place in probably all of the American cities,

talk of economy or efficiency would have been burlesque.[1] But by 1900 Tweed had become the bad man of municipal story books and the era of reform was in full swing.

Then the subject of economy, the second goal of financial administration, began to be paramount.[2] This earlier economy consisted largely of retrenchment and paring down. The attitude was to keep the tax rate down regardless. Economy became a slogan of office seeking politicians. Because of its wide general appeal this goal is still apparently the chief objective of many vote-conscious officials. State legislatures indulged in a number of arbitrary checks upon the tax levying and debt incurring powers of the cities. These proved to be generally unsuccessful.

It is, of course, self-evident that honesty and economy are prime requisites of good administration, but they are not sufficient as criteria. A dollar lost through maladministration or lack of foresight is as surely lost to the taxpayer as one filched from the public treasury or wasted through extravagance. The ideal of efficiency has largely supplanted that of crude economy. A low tax rate is important, but it is of more importance to see that the taxpayer gets

[1] Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities.*

[2] These periods must not be considered as sharply defined. There is considerable overlapping of all of them and any dates used are, for the most part, purely arbitrary. Honesty and economy are still as desirable as ever but since they are not so glaringly violated now as they were a few decades ago it is not necessary to emphasize them with quite the same intensity.

full value received for every dollar expended by the city and that important functions are not neglected.

With the efficiency movement the expert entered city government and a whole train of innovations resulted. Just as economy is built upon honesty, so efficiency must include economy. Efficiency is the goal that is most emphasized in municipal circles at present.

But efficiency does not represent the last word in city government. A fourth criterion is being hinted at here and there although it has not yet been paraded very openly. As a result of the great multiplicity of obligations that are devolving upon the cities there must be a keen sense of proportion and balance in the administration of the city's affairs. Development must be symmetrical. Suppose a city is fortunate enough to possess thoroughly honest and capable officials, working under the most efficient system yet devised and desirous of maintaining a low tax rate. Incredible as it may sound, that city might be far from an ideal one. It might be spending too large a share of its funds on highways and not enough on schools, or building beautiful museums and leaving nothing for playgrounds, or keeping its streets scrupulously clean and neglecting its paupers. Almost any number of variations would be possible and that is exactly what we are getting in our American cities, although unfortunately, not under the extenuating circumstances mentioned above.

An interesting discussion of just how this is happening in a number of individual cities is to be found in a recent magazine article. "Unfortunately, the importance of the coordination of all those elements which make for better living was not appreciated during the early years of municipal growth. As a result, cities today are faced with many difficult financial problems in rebuilding much that should have been permanent. This lack of proper coordination exists in nearly every city today in one form or another."[3]

An ideal administration must measure up to every one of the four standards of honesty, economy, efficiency and proportion. Striving for well-balanced development would be futile unless the three preceding goals had in some measure been attained, just as economy is an empty phrase unless there is an honest administration; but in many cases the same devices that promote the one goal serve also to help bring about the others.

The shady history of American cities during the nineteenth century was not due to unusual depravity in human nature at that period. The underlying theory of city government was fallacious, and as a result of this faulty reasoning there grew up unsound political practices which left the cities as a direct challenge to hoodlums and grafters and effectively barred the way to efficient administration.

[3] Gardner S. Rogers, "Why Ten Towns are Not Measuring Up to Their City Planning Possibilities," in *The American City*, XLI, 112-113.

City government began to decay. Doubtless there were other forces—the materialism of the age, the indifference of the people, the pliability of certain elements in the population; yet the decay lay chiefly at the door of defective political theory. Democracy had early become a fetish; but its content of meaning was not static. The early error of basing political thought on an assumption of equality of ability, and the later development of the long ballot which seemed to assume that this ability was of an order high enough to pick a multitude of local administrators; were interpretations of democracy which time was to prove unsound.[4]

Bad city government in the United States has been largely the result of unsound theory. Checks and balances, short terms, rotation in office, small salaries and the long ballot have combined to produce inefficient and dishonest administration such as would not be tolerated in any of the more progressive nations of Europe.[5]

Moreover, it must be remembered that our American cities, unwieldy and overgrown as they may be, are extremely young communities. One hundred years ago there were only six cities in the country having a population of 30,000 or over: New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans and Charleston.[6] Today there are two hundred and fifty such cities.

There was no opportunity for slow and seasoned development with an orderly assumption of new

[4] Ernest S. Griffith, *The Modern Development of City Government*, I, 17-18.

[5] Austin F. MacDonald, *American City Government and Administration*, p. 155.

[6] U. S. Census Office, *Statistical View of the United States . . .* being a compendium of the seventh census, to which are added the results of every previous census, p. 192.

duties. While the energies of the nation were being engrossed in taming a continent and developing national and state governments and while the cataclysmic changes of the Machine Age were transforming the industrial world there sprang up with mushroom growth a great network of urban communities, many of them of monster size, bringing in their train a whole series of new problems.

> The problem in America has been to make a great city in a few years out of nothing. There has been no nucleus of wealth upon which to found the structure which every succeeding year has enlarged. Recourse has been had of necessity, under these conditions, to the freest use of the public credit. . . . . Time is a necessary element in making a great city, as it is in every other great and enduring work. American cities are judged by their size, rather than by the time which has entered into their growth. . . . . Looked at in this light, the marvel would seem to be, not so much that the American cities are justly criticisable for many defects, but rather that results so great have been achieved in so short a time.[7]

Although America felt the impact of the new trend most keenly, the strong impetus to urbanization is a modern development for Europe also.[8]

It was to be expected that the attempts to meet this extraordinary development of American cities would be crude and bungling. When, in addition to the physical difficulties were added those growing out of a faulty philosophy of government, the dark period of municipal government is not to be wondered at.[9]

[7] James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth,* I, 658-659.
[8] Frank J. Goodnow, *Municipal Government,* pp. 6-7.
[9] James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth,* I, 678-679.

Americans distrusted centralized control. Power in the hands of one person was a dangerous thing. So they set up an elaborate system of checks and balances.[10]

The result of this carefully planned system of checks and balances was magnificent inaction. With every official shackled lest he do wrong, no one was free to do right. Deadlocks, delays and lack of cooperation characterized city government. But the fathers were not at all disturbed. Like Jacobi they believed that "All governments are, to a certain extent, a treaty with the Devil." Government was likely to get beyond their control; it was an ever present menace to their liberties. If they could lessen the danger by setting every department against every other department and making every official independent of every other, surely inaction would be a small price to pay.[11]

Not responsible government but curbed authority was their goal and this system which they had adopted for national and state use, they likewise carried over into city government, ignoring the fact that city government can never be a miniature replica of the larger governments because it is of an intrinsically different nature.

The evolutionary process in cities is so rapid relatively to that in larger governmental units that this trait alone forms a peculiar and striking feature of city government. Moreover, the business activities

[10] Thomas H. Reed, *Municipal Government in the United States*, pp. 66-67.

[11] Austin F. MacDonald, *American City Government and Administration*, pp. 145-146.

of the cities outweigh those of the purely governmental type.[12]

It has been frequently pointed out that a city, unlike the state and national governments, is primarily engaged in buying services and selling or giving them to its people. The power of the purse is, therefore, of relatively more importance in city than in other fields of government. The life of every department depends on its appropriations, and hence the council, by its unrestricted control of appropriations, was in a position to dictate to the departments. Its power in this respect was enhanced by the decentralization of executive authority. A council could not afford to cripple the whole city government and an executive branch, well organized under a single head, could confront it with confidence. When, however, as was generally the case during the period under discussion, each department was a little province independent of every other department, there was no resisting it. The council could demand whatever price it would in return for its appropriations. . . . . The opportunities inherent in such a situation for what the popular speech of America so aptly calls "passing the buck" were endless.[13]

As a result of the tendency to pattern city governments after the state governments, the weak mayor and the bi-cameral city council came into prominence.

Not only did these early Americans seek to curb governmental authority, but they were also filled with a great urge to emphasize the idea of democracy in every way. "Any man is good enough to hold any office," claimed the Jacksonian democrats.[14] Popular

[12] Thomas H. Reed, *Municipal Government in the United States*, pp. 41-42.

[13] Ibid., pp. 77-78.

[14] Austin F. MacDonald, *American City Government and Administration*, p. 148.

election was the ideally democratic way in which to select these public officials.[15] Short terms in office gave the opportunity to more citizens to enjoy the privilege of office holding.

The evils resulting from this excess democratization were unmistakable. Decentralized authority precludes responsible government. Unless responsibility is clearly defined no one can be held accountable for maladministration.

A high degree of technical skill is requisite in many city offices. Popular elections will not suffice for the selection of such people. Moreover, a long ballot destroys the very element of popular control that it was supposed to promote. When the average voter is required to pass upon the eligibility of several dozen candidates[16] it is obviously impossible for him to form even a hazy conception of their respective merits. For all but two or three he must either resort to guessing or vote a straight party ticket. The voter's sovereign privilege thus plays directly into the hands of the party politician. Finally, such small measure of ability as an office holder chosen in this manner might acquire through experience was lost to the community as a result of the frequent rotation in office.

The whole system was further complicated by the liberal use of *ad hoc* boards or commissions also

[15] Ibid., p. 151; Thomas H. Reed, *Municipal Government in the United States,* p. 71.

[16] Austin F. MacDonald, *American City Government and Administration,* p. 152.

elected by the people. Practically every function was represented by a popularly elected board.[17] These boards, often with independent taxing and administrative powers, made it impossible to correlate the city activities. Although the use of such bodies has now been largely discredited by students of municipal government, there are still a number who believe that the *ad hoc* board has " possibilities of usefulness " in the case of education.[18]

Under circumstances so decidedly favorable to their development, the boss and his machine entered city government and held uninterrupted sway for many years. Their power was considerably augmented by the heavy influx of ignorant aliens who fell an easy prey to such beneficent appearing institutions as Tammany Hall.[19]

However, during all this period of waste, inefficiency and corruption, extending roughly from 1840 to 1888,[20] city government did develop. Old functions took on increasing importance and new ones were constantly assumed. Ambitious public works programs were undertaken and carried out.

In the meantime, cities had grown in population, had flourished economically and had developed in culture. Machine

[17] Thomas H. Reed, *Municipal Government in the United States,* pp. 73-75.

[18] Ernest S. Griffith, *The Modern Development of City Government,* II, 492-498.

[19] Thomas H. Reed, *Municipal Government in the United States,* p. 86.

James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth,* II, 379-381.

[20] Thomas H. Reed, *Municipal Government in the United States,* pp. 98, 100.

government, bad as it was, had not been able to check the natural forces of progress. . . . . The cities of 1840 had neither proper pavements, sewers, parks, police departments nor fire protection. The cities of 1888 had all these. We had toilfully climbed upward toward some standards of municipal service. Nevertheless, it is true that our city governments were burdened with debt, sodden with corruption and inefficiency.[21]

The reform era which set in around 1888 brought in its wake devices which were to exert a corrective influence on all three of the major evils of the period—graft, extravagance and inefficiency. Although many of the same devices are useful in preventing graft and extravagance as in promoting efficiency [22] it is desirable to consider them as distinct goals; first, because they differ in basic significance and second, because they have received varying degrees of emphasis in the public mind. For a long period honesty was the crying need in municipal government. Economy and efficiency are often considered as one goal, but there is a vast distinction between the idea of simple retrenchment and paring down the tax rate, to the ideal of spending every dollar in the most advantageous manner. " Penuriousness and the desire to expand civic functions—both powerful motives—fought out their battle in 1900-10, and out of the struggle came the last great phase of American municipal government—effi-

[21] Ibid., pp. 98-99.

[22] Ibid., p. 110; Ernest S. Griffith, *Modern Development of City Government,* I, 283-284.

ciency—which meant in financial terms, 'value received.' "[23]

In the earlier years of the reform era the efforts of the reformers were directed chiefly at the political regeneration of the cities. They sought to overthrow machines and bosses and to set up decent and representative city government. In recent years, with these ends at least partially achieved, emphasis has been shifted to the administrative aspects of the municipal problem. Efficiency in the performance of the tasks of city administration has now become the goal of idealists. No definite date can be assigned when municipal reform left the one phase and entered the other. Nor has there ever been a time when municipal reformers were not actuated by the desire both for political regeneration and administrative efficiency. In a sense, however, the successful passage of the first phase was a condition precedent to entering upon the second. The transition has been gradual, but there can be no doubt that the objectives of municipal reform have undergone a decided change.[24]

For several decades it was necessary, and still is, to sound the battle cry for Home Rule, the merit system, the short ballot and other noteworthy reforms. Yet all the time another change has been taking place in municipal government, not so widely heralded and much less consciously secured, but none the less significant and far-reaching. Gradually the old irresponsible day of divided responsibility, *ad hoc* boards and checkmating councils is passing. Centralized authority appears and the business-like city government emerges.[25]

[23] Ibid., I, 286-289, 324.

[24] Thomas H. Reed, *Municipal Government in the United States*, pp. 101-102.

[25] Ibid., pp. 107, 109.

As a result, however, of the long era of irresponsibility and graft, there has grown up in the American mind a curious scapegoat on which, in the absence of any concrete person to blame, we fasten all of our political ills. Whether it be a question of a Teapot Dome scandal or the non-collection of garbage, the average person blames it all on the rotten state of politics and lets it go at that. Satisfying as this alibi appears to be to the popular mind, it is really no answer at all, for politics is merely a reflection of other conditions. "One of the surest hopes we have is the politician himself. Ask him for good politics; punish him when he gives bad, and reward him when he gives good; make politics pay." [26]

The new desire for a well-balanced city government is merely carrying over into our community life the economic ideal for the satisfaction of the wants of the individual.

Maximum welfare is attained by having balanced desires, that is, by carrying the gratification of desires in one direction until the satisfaction derived is equal to that received in other directions. Wisdom in the choice of economic goods counsels that income be so distributed that there will be equal degrees of satisfaction of all human desires, or in other words, that there will be an attempt to maintain a balance in the intensity of desires for the various kinds of goods.[27]

An old darky can balance an unwieldy bundle of clothes or a heavy basket on his head and trudge along with equanimity, while the uninitiate is plunged

[26] Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities*, p. 25.
[27] Frederick S. Deibler, *Principles of Economics*, p. 53.

into profound mystification. It is not the weight nor the size of the burden that troubles the novice but the problem of delicate adjustment to a position of perfect poise and balance. It is this same problem of equilibrium that baffles and must be solved in economic as well as in physical affairs. A nicety of balance is as necessary in government as in physics. But the intuitive sense of the old darky or a process of shifting to the right position does not work out so well here. Some other method must be developed.

Politicians are apt to play up local differences, but there can be little difference in the collective needs of the people in the various cities of a country made so homogeneous by all the links of prosperity and civilization. Life, health, safety, cleanliness, thoroughfares, recreation, education and beauty are needed in about the same proportion in San Diego as in Grand Rapids. None of them will be achieved perfectly in any place, but is there any inherent difference in the makeup of the population which necessitates that in one city a man shall be safer from disease while in another he is better protected from lawbreakers, or that the children in one city have better playgrounds while in another classroom instruction is of a higher order? Differences in individual men would without doubt constitute varying demands for these goods, but is the average community desire in our composite American cities so different from place to place?

Perhaps it is, but a scientific investigation into psychological and sociological factors entirely beyond

the scope of this study would be necessary to determine it. Pending such a verdict, it is the present assumption that in all of our American cities the needs, if not the wants, for basic services are in much the same proportion. How then, has the present disproportion arisen? In two ways: First, though there may not be great differences in the corresponding needs of communities, there may be outstanding discrepancies in the ease with which similar wants may be satisfied in different communities.

For example, level topography and nearby sources of roadmaking materials may make it much easier for one city to secure well-paved streets than for another not so advantageously situated. Unfavorable climatic conditions and a large percentage of alien or negro population complicate the health and sanitation problems of many cities. Easy exits for criminals must be considered as a factor in the crime situation.

But the second reason is the more vital to grasp. Only in a very broad and general sense can we say that the masses of the people are responsible for governmental accents. As a matter of fact, the masses are most conspicuous for their inertia. They go serenely on their way, for the most part getting much better government than they deserve. In a burst of something resembling dementia præcox they every now and then elect a few politicians who appoint numerous political friends to office, and it is the largely unscientific ideas of these few represen-

tatives, coerced by private interests and the force of customary procedure, rather than the unexpressed desires of a dumb majority, that determine where the emphasis shall be placed.

There are three rules of financial administration that would probably meet with general acceptance as theoretical ideals. First, that the tax rate shall be sufficient to carry on and develop municipal activities in an adequate and dignified manner commensurate with the wealth of the city; second, that the city government shall be run as a business corporation, making use of experts and of the most advanced methods in every field, in order that the greatest economy of resources may be effected; third, that the distribution of appropriations shall be so proportioned that the last dollar expended on any one function shall be equivalent in social utility to the last dollar expended on any other function. It is the third rule to which attention will be devoted in this study.

CHAPTER III

A Theory of Expenditure

Desires extend themselves with the means of satisfaction; the horizon is enlarged in proportion as one advances, and each new want equally accompanied by its pleasure and its pain becomes a new principle of action.—Jeremy Bentham.

Recognition of the power of the money bag in government has appeared in legislative procedure and in judicial decisions, and yet it seeps slowly into public opinion. "The power to tax involves the power to destroy," is a legal opinion that has been accepted as a dogma in political science. "In the lower House alone shall originate any financial measure," declares the lawmaker. While the money-raising and spending function is the vital point in government of all kinds, the distribution of the revenues is the crux of the financial situation. This fact has never been adequately realized.

All taxpayers feel a tremendous concern over the tax rate; few except lobbyists pay any attention to the manner in which the tax-money is expended. Of the two, it is the latter which more vitally concerns them (barring exceptional cases of non-residents). A community can conceivably be imagined in which taxes amounted to 100% of every man's income, but in which the revenues might be so wisely expended that every man received the maximum of satisfac-

tion from his income. Such a possibility is not mentioned as a desirable goal. A phenomenal increase in human wisdom would be necessary before such a thing could even be seriously considered and a revolutionary change in human nature would need to take place before it would be desirable. On the other hand, imagine a large community in which the tax rate hovered around zero. It has a pleasant ring to the ears, but would anybody want to live there? Traffic, sanitation and education would be either ignored or left to the tender mercies of private enterprise, to be paid for individually. These examples are absurd extremes, but they illustrate the point that, contrary to much public opinion, it is not the size of the tax rate which makes for community happiness, but the balanced and effective manner in which revenues are expended.

If a budget clerk were carefully to search through the archives of public finance, economic theory and municipal government, he would find pitifully little to assist him in the all-important question of dividing up the city's revenues. His adoption of rule-of-thumb devices to tide him past the crucial points is the most that could reasonably be expected. Some excellent texts have been written on the procedure of preparing the municipal budget, but the whole question of the relative apportionment to various functions has been so severely let alone that it might appear to have been assumed that knowledge of the proper distribution of city funds sprang Minerva-like from

the brows of the financial Joves who manipulate the city's funds, or else that there was not sufficient similarity in the fiscal needs of any given number of cities to make a comparative analysis worthwhile.

But there does seem to be an urgent need for just such research; not, indeed, for any criterion laid down by a theorist, showing in rigid proportions the amounts to be expended on each and every function, but for a sympathetic study of the practices actually prevailing in American cities and some forecasting of impending lines of development.

For a long time considerations on public expenditure were devoted to the explanation or justification of governmental costs, accompanied by a never-ceasing lament that they were continually increasing. Collective spending appealed to many of the early writers as an evil thing. " ' I think the national expenditure ought to increase in proportion to the spread of wealth. Why don't you let the country live like a gentleman? ' asked Sir William Harcourt. ' Because,' said Mr. Gladstone, ' living like a gentleman means paying five times its value for everything you buy.' "[1]

But the " evil " has persisted and shows no signs of abating. It is the price we pay for progress. Municipal standards of living are increasing along with private standards. We must find a way to let our cities " live like a gentleman " without permitting them to pay five times the cost. When a city has ex-

[1] A. G. Gardiner, *The Life of Sir William Harcourt,* I, 388.

perienced the satisfactions resulting from clean streets, pleasing architecture, wide thoroughfares, low fire and death rates, ultra modern schools, efficient libraries and abundant parks, to name only a few of the more obvious rewards, it will not willingly revert to a lower standard of living—even though the lower standard would mean lower taxes. For many of the populace, indeed, the reduction in taxes would be more than offset by increased fire and burglary insurance and by more illness and more traffic accidents—to mention only a few of the more direct results. Numerous indirect ones could be named. A per capita saving of $5.00 on the tax rate might easily mean a per capita loss of much more than $5.00, although perhaps distributed somewhat differently. This, of course, does not refer to saving through increased efficiency on the part of the administration, which would always be a clear gain to the community.

The old note of apology for governmental expenditures is becoming somewhat less conspicuous and with its passing opportunity is being given for the development of a real theory of expenditure.

The theory of expenditure in so far as it relates to the total spent will not be considered here except where necessary to show the historical development. The amount of the social income that should be taken over by the government and the purposes to which it should be devoted cover a much broader field than the present discussion. Consideration is being given only to those functions which are now universally

accepted in this country as municipal responsibilities. The problem is the proportion of revenue which each function should receive. No attempt to justify any of them will be made. That has already been done by social usage and any conclusions reached on that score would be entirely futile since there is no probability that the city will be relieved of any of them.

The marginal concept in public expenditures is relatively new. The theory of marginal utility was given to the world about fifty years ago by the so-called Austrian School of Economists. This theory has revolutionized economic thinking. Not only has it been used in the determination of value, but also of rent, wages, profits and interest. Emil Sax [2] is credited by Wieser with being the first to apply it in the field of public finance. "Finally came a comprehensive work of E. Sax, extending the theory of value over entirely new material to which no previous writer had applied it—to public imposts, and thus giving the theory one of its richest applications." [3] The very important contribution which Sax made to the theory of public finance, however, concerns particularly the determination of the total amount of revenue and the manner in which it should be levied. For the first time taxation was to be jus-

[2] Emil Sax, *Grundlegung der theoretischen Staatswirthschaft.* Vienna, 1887.

[3] Friedrich von Wieser, *Natural Value,* trans. by C. A. Malloch, xxxiv.

tified on purely economic grounds rather than on the abstract claims of justice.

> Hitherto, as regards the most important points of the theory of taxation, the science of finance has rested its tenets on an appeal to the claims of justice. In this almost unanimous dependence upon outside and non-economic considerations, the imperfect condition of that science betrays itself even more than in its lack of agreement over the purely economic part of its investigation, and so far as this remains it must resign all claim to be regarded as an essentially economic doctrine. Thanks to the labours of Sax this is to a great extent altered. All the principal requirements of the theory of taxation have obtained an economic foundation in being derived from the general economic categories—Want, Goods, Economy, Value.[4]

Once it has been demonstrated that the point of demarcation between public and private expenditures should be that at which it is a matter of economic indifference whether an additional outlay shall be made by the state or by individuals, it is necessary to go but a step further to say that a given amount of revenue should be distributed among the various governmental functions so equitably, that it would be a matter of indifference where an additional dollar would be spent.

Bastable, the great English writer on public finance, writing in 1892, frankly ignores the contributions of the Austrian School [5] and reverts to the earlier attempts of writers on finance to justify expenditures. However, he protests against the dis-

[4] Ibid., pp. 236-237.
[5] C. F. Bastable, *Public Finance*, p. vi.

regard of the subject of expenditure which is commonly evinced by economists and devotes all of Book I to the subject.

It nevertheless seems that the question of expenditure is just as much a financial problem as that of revenue. Neither in theory nor in practice is it advisable to separate them completely. The greatest finance ministers have made their reputations as much by judicious control of outlay as by wise reforms in revenue, while for theoretical discussion the principles and facts of expenditure are of considerable interest.[6] State outlay is a part of the consumption of the society of which the State is the regulating organ, and for a knowledge of the conditions that govern it we must have a theory of the consumption of wealth in general. Unhappily, questions relating to consumption have been too much neglected by economists, and thus there is no complete theory available for application to financial problems. Still, the leading truths on the matter are suggested in modern economic theories and may be developed by their aid.[7]

Bastable is in the position of a man who clearly recognizes a problem but has no solution to offer.

As regards expenditure, the absence of a strict standard makes it very hard to judge the extent to which the public resources should be applied for the satisfaction of the several wants. This vagueness is made still more apparent by confining our attention to a single public need in a given country—say, the amount of protection against foreign and home enemies required by England at present. How shall we determine the expenditure that is suitable for this object?

"Adequacy in such cases," says Dr. Sidgwick, "cannot be defined by a sharp line. Most Englishmen are persuaded that

[6] Ibid., pp. 5-6.
[7] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

they at present enjoy very tolerable protection of person and property against enemies within and without the country, but it would be difficult to argue that our security would not be enhanced by more and better-paid judges and policemen, or more and better-equipped soldiers and sailors."

The problem, it is evident, can only allow of an approximate solution, such as the actual circumstances will permit, and this finds its expression in the sentiment of practical statesmen, who say with Sir R. Peel, " In time of peace you must, if you mean to retrench, incur some risk."

When the problem is widened so as to include the relations of the several wants of the public organs of the society, its difficulty is increased; the adjustment of the separate items of outlay and the proportion that the total amount shall bear to the sum of national revenue, is a task that tries the abilities of the most skilful administrator.[8]

His discussion of arbitrary limits is just as applicable today as when written, and seems worthy of being quoted at some length.

There can be no doubt that a small nation with little accumulated wealth cannot adopt the same scale of outlay as a larger and wealthier one, and one of the rules of good Finance is to observe moderation in the demands of the State on its citizens. Beyond this general precept no definite result has been reached. Some writers have suggested a percentage limit for State outlay. Justi regards 16% as the average, 25% as excessive. Hock states 15% as the upper limit. Leroy-Beaulieu, who confines his discussion to the amount of taxation, arranges the charge on national income for State ends in grades: 5% he thinks light, between 5 and 10% moderate, over the latter figure heavy, and when 15 or 16% is reached it is almost impossible to increase it. Any attempt to settle once for all the proper proportion of public expenditure to

[8] Ibid., pp. 39-40.

national income is necessarily vitiated by the different elements to be taken into account; such as (1) the object of the outlay; if it has an economic end a larger amount may be taken, since it is expected to yield a direct return, and even if not for economic ends, no decision can be made until the urgency of the want is known. A Nation engaged in a conflict perhaps involving its national existence is justified in expenditure that in ordinary times would be imprudent. (2) The amount of the national income is also a factor to be considered. Expenditure requiring 10% of the annual income of India would be much more burdensome than if 30% were to be required in England or the United States. (3) The distribution and the forms of wealth, though less in importance, have some effect on spending power. The bounds of outlay in any given case can only be ascertained by trial, though it is plain that the agreement of the writers referred to above supports the belief that 15% of the national income is too large an amount to appropriate for State objects, unless in very exceptional cases.

Other methods of measuring the proper amount of State expenditure are still more doubtful. We might take the proportion to area as a guide, were it not for the fact that the extreme differences in the value of land in different countries, as also the varying proportions that other forms of wealth bear to land, make this test fallacious. The amount of accumulated wealth as estimated in modern statistical inquiries might be used, but we shall find that income (not property) is the fund out of which in ordinary cases expenditure has to be met, and the relation of income to property varies. A very commonly-used index is the charge per head of population, though for this purpose it is far inferior even to the amount of property. An attempt to measure the comparative pressure caused by expenditure in India and in the Australasian Colonies based on taking the charge per head, would give the astonishing result that it was about nineteen fold heavier in the latter.

Such considerations lead to the belief—which indeed ought to be obvious—that there is no mechanical mode of judging the sufficiency or the legitimacy of public expenditure, a belief that is strengthened by remembering that local expenditures must be added to that of the central government before the full pressure can be known, and that a series of complicated calculations is needed to apportion the combined charges over the several districts.[9]

The one ray of hope which Bastable is able to shed upon the question is, interestingly enough, a reflection of the new economic theory.

Fortunately the question of expenditure in all its forms does not present itself as a single problem. It would be quite hopeless to attempt to prepare a budget of outlay for any country without the aid of the material collected during previous experience. The great mass of expenditure is taken as settled, and it is only the particular changes that have to be anxiously weighed in order to estimate their probable advantage. This method of treatment simplifies the issues very much. In the language of modern economists it is "final" rather than "total" expenditure that needs the financier's attention. Though the increments dealt in are not of inconsiderable magnitude, a further reduction can be made by taking increments of those increments into account.[10]

Henry Carter Adams in his discussion[11] of the subject a few years later (1898) shows a decided advance in thought over Bastable. He follows Bastable in recognizing the economic importance of public expenditure and in devoting a considerable portion of his study to a discussion of the problem,

[9] Ibid., pp. 129-130.
[10] Ibid., pp. 130-131.
[11] Henry Carter Adams, *The Science of Finance,* Book I.

but he has a much more effective grasp of the subject. His treatment of this problem remains one of the most comprehensive and scholarly we have.

Adams finds in Stein's work on public finance the point of view from which he thinks it desirable to discuss the problem.

"The ruling principle is rather that, in covering the needs of the State, a due proportion be maintained as compared with the proportionate covering of those needs not represented by the State. . . . . The financier who appreciates only public needs will undoubtedly declare them to be sovereign. In this he proceeds no less from the atomic and anti-social point of view than the burgher who, under all conditions, aims to limit the State to the crumbs left over from the domestic budget. Considered by itself, the starvation of private or non-governmental needs through a gluttonous public economy is as strictly forbidden as the spoliation and disintegration of the State through a parsimonious egotism . . . . . Neither public nor private economy presents, of itself, a final end. To pamper the one and starve the other, to over-nourish the one and stunt the other, appears, upon its face, without warrant, since an effective State and a strong people are alike essential elements in national life. Both public and private needs are integral parts of a common necessity, and the one as well as the other must finally be determined according to their relative importance for the maintenance and development of society as a whole. . . . . To provide for public necessities as well as for private wants, in the ratio of their relative economic importance, is the manifest, self-apparent demand which the theory of finance that holds itself within the circle of economic vision asserts as its own, and which may be successfully opposed to the parsimonious citizens as well as to the spend-thrift State." [12]

[12] Ibid., p. 23.

Adams agrees with Bastable that expenditures will vary according to the wealth of the country but he goes further and sees in public expenditure a reflection of the " sociologic theory " of the state.

The starting-point is the fund of wealth at the disposal of the nation; the objective point is the highest development of both individual and national life; the problem is to so balance the assignment of expenditures between the many various forms of consumption that the life of the people shall be nourished and the organs of the nation developed, at the point where nourishment and development are most needed. The ideal is that of a vigorous, well-rounded, uniformly developed social organism, and, provided the student can image to himself the unity of social interests, a decided advantage may be gained by applying to public expenditures the experience of the individual with a limited income. . . . . With regard also to the balancing of the amount to be expended between the various lines of service entered upon by the State, the experience gained in the management of the domestic budget may be of decided advantage in the consideration of public finances. As a larger percentage of the income of the poor man is expended on the necessaries of life than on the comforts or luxuries, so a poor State will be called upon to make larger relative expenditures for the primary governmental functions than for those which come at a later stage of development. The same considerations, therefore, which lead the economist to include an analysis and classification of private wants in his study of the theory of consumption require the financier to assign an important place to the analysis and classification of the activities of the State in his theory of public expenditures. It is not too much to say that the rule adopted for determining public expenditures is the financial expression of the sociologic theory of the development of governmental functions.[13]

[13] Ibid., pp. 29-30.

A theory of public expenditures must consequently be built upon an intelligent appreciation of social forces and an adequate perception of social tendencies—an observation which justifies the procedure adopted by this treatise of building up a theory of public expenditures from those known and manifest features common to the social and political organization of all peoples whose government conforms to the constitutional type.[14]

Certainly these statements represent a wide departure in thought from the earlier dictum of John Stuart Mill that, "*Laissez-faire,* in short, should be the general practice: every departure from it, unless required by some great good, is a certain evil";[15] and that of J. B. Say, that "The best scheme of finance is, to spend as little as possible; and the best tax is always the lightest."[16]

Adams continues,

The situation seems to be that the older English writers did not need a theory of expenditures because the theory of government which they held implied a fixed limit to governmental functions; while the earlier German economists could not work out a satisfactory theory respecting the public use of money because their theory of government presented too strong a presumption in favour of the State. As is so frequently the case, the truth respecting public expenditures lies between these extremes, and can only be discovered by the concurrent study of public and of private functions. As already suggested, a theory of public expenditures must be a theory of the evolution of the collective wants of individuals, and its further development necessitates an analysis of the

[14] Ibid., p. 36.

[15] John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy,* II, 569.

[16] Jean-Baptiste Say, *A Treatise on Political Economy.* Trans. by C. R. Prinsep, p. 449.

governmental functions, not alone as they now are, but as they have developed.[17]

Since 1900 writers on public finance have apparently unquestioningly acquiesced in the marginal utility theory of expenditures. Nicholson (1901) states it clearly.

> Accordingly, the system of expenditure ought always to be viewed as a whole and an adjudication made on conflicting claims, and he is the best master of finance who best understands the relations of the parts to the whole. And although the utilitarian calculus cannot be applied very far, the distinction between total and final utility may often indicate the necessity of checking extravagance in one direction and beginning a necessary expenditure in another. A minimum amount of defence or protection may have assigned to it an infinity utility, but the utility rapidly diminishes, and necessity passes into luxury or display. A point is reached where the statesman must decide whether other public objects have not greater claims, *e. g.,* village asylums for pauper lunatics in place of separate cubicles for soldiers. The ideal of public expenditure on the utilitarian principle would be attained when the public utility of the marginal expenditure in each case is equal.
>
> The ideal is no doubt unattainable, but it is not unthinkable, and the pursuit of it may lead to important practical results. Without a beacon of this kind, expenditure may be continued in certain directions long after it is justified by changing conditions, and the most necessary reforms may be met with the *non possumus* of passive inertia.[18]

More recent writers have increasingly emphasized the utilitarian ideal. Dalton discusses at some length

[17] Henry Carter Adams, *The Science of Finance,* p. 53.

[18] J. Shield Nicholson, *Principles of Political Economy,* III, 379-380.

the principle of "Maximum Social Advantage" which should be the guiding light in public finance.

The best system of public finance is that which secures the maximum social advantage from the operations which it conducts. This principle is obvious, simple and far-reaching, though its practical application is often very difficult. But the difficulty is inherent in the subject, and cannot legitimately be avoided by substituting a wrong principle for a right one, in order to arrive more easily at practical conclusions.[19]

The marginal utility to the community of all forms of public expenditure should be equal, and the distribution of a given total of expenditure between different objects is thus theoretically determined. . . . . Public expenditure in every direction should be carried just so far, that the advantage to the community of a further small increase in any direction is just counterbalanced by the disadvantage of a corresponding small increase in taxation or in receipts from any other source of public income. This gives the ideal total both of public expenditure and of public income. The ideal distribution of this total public income between different taxes and other sources of income is similarly given by the requirement that the marginal social disadvantages, or disutilities, of raising income from all these sources should be equal.[20]

The summary of Lindahl's theory of public consumption as described by Peck is as follows:

Public consumers' goods, such as public art, public cultural education, and public parks, should be governed by the principle analogous to the marginal utility of the private economy. They should approximate the point where benefits are offset by burdens, or where money spent for public consumers' goods

[19] Hugh Dalton, *Principles of Public Finance,* p. 10.
[20] Ibid., pp. 18-19.

ceases to bring in greater satisfaction than money spent for private consumer's goods. The amount of money that will be spent for these public goods will be determined by the individual's estimate of the satisfaction that he will derive from them. Only the connection between cost and utility is more remote and difficult to ascertain than in the case of private economic life. The wants of great masses of individuals are expressed only through representative government; and if representation is imperfect and political or party forces are brought to bear, the power of economic forces in the determination of taxation is proportionately modified. The problem of the amount of taxation can be determined according to purely economic principles provided that individuals estimate intelligently the benefits that they will derive from state activity, and express their conception of self-interest through the agency of a democratic, representative government.[21]

An extremely interesting recent discussion of the subject is to be found in *Public Expenditure* by Harold W. Guest. He frankly accepts the marginal theory of expenditure, but emphasizes the social-psychological side of public finance.

There is nothing original in the conception that the problem of public expenditures is an aspect of value theory, that it is a question of consumption economics. However, there is a difference from the ordinary notion of consumption in that it is a phenomenon of social character rather than an activity of individuals as such. If, then, one would know the true nature of the expenditures of governments, that information may well be sought in the science of human nature, in a study of social attitudes and social behavior, and how they find expression in social demand. In other words, public finance has a social-psychological basis, and there can be little hope of

[21] Harvey W. Peck, *Taxation and Welfare,* pp. 32-33.

acquiring a complete knowledge of the phenomena of public finance until this basis is given its due emphasis.[22]

Social causation, in an immediate sense, is psychological in its origin rather than physical or institutional. Expenditures of governments then are expressions of the wants, desires, hopes, fears, habits, impulses, customs of human beings and must be studied as such if an understanding of them in all of their various aspects is to be had.[23]

Guest goes somewhat further than the other writers in desiring to see some link established between the practice and the precept of governmental spending.

The fact that government officials having the expenditure of public funds among their duties are not thinking clearly in terms of maximum social advantage constitutes an exposure of weakness in the present system of appropriations. That, as a rule, they are struggling within the limitations imposed by habit, training, pre-occupation, political pressure and other untoward factors to attain maximum social advantage is doubtless often true. When failure can be ascribed to such causes, the situation is all the more pitiful but rather more hopeful. The average government official's conception of social utility is decidedly hazy and couched in the terms of individual success, prosperity, and rights. He finds it difficult to think of objects of public expenditure in a truly qualitative sense.

If it were possible to state more clearly this idea of social utility so that it might become the background for the consideration of public expenditures in a more definite way, there would be a step taken in the right direction. For it is certain that standards of some kind exist in the mind of every person who concerns himself with that problem. If the standards,

[22] Harold W. Guest, *Public Expenditure,* p. 5.
[23] Ibid., p. 10.

then, can be socialized and made more definite, the way is opened for a more intelligent consideration of governmental outlays.[24]

The upshot of it all is that there is an ethical implication in the problems of public expenditure that has been slurred over for the most part in treatises on public finance, and so has escaped definite statement as such. The fact that there is a larger social need without a definite social self or organism to give expression and direction to that need puts an unescapable duty upon the individual citizen, and still more upon the officials of the citizen, to function from this larger point of view. But to say that he does so function, except in occasional cases, is to take an unpardonable liberty with facts.[25]

Like Adams, Guest believes that public expenditures reflect the "sociologic theory" of the state. "Government has never yet gotten completely beyond the experimental stage; it is a test always going on as applied to this function or that, this activity or that proposed improvement. In just what ratio they do finally stand in relation to one another and to costs depends upon the qualities of the state or community and upon the stage of development it has attained."[26]

Guest summarizes his conclusions as follows:

That the concepts of marginism do not conform to the facts of public expenditure should be apparent by this time. Whether or not an acceptable ideal for public expenditures can be formulated from this principle is quite another matter. Both Dalton and Shirras state their propositions in terms of "should." As commonly conceived, in pecuniary terminology and institutions, "marginal vendibility" and the like, it falls

[24] Ibid., pp. 145-146.
[25] Ibid., 148-149.
[26] Ibid., pp. 149-150.

short as a satisfactory measure of the progress-values which have no place in the pecuniary system as yet. As a measure of welfare it also falls short in that such values cannot be given adequate expression in terms of money.

The truth is that there is needed a new system of social accounting in which these important items which are not expressible in terms of price can be weighed. In the absence of such a system, the marginistic terminology serves little good purpose in the attempt to devise an adequate standard of public expenditure. It only stimulates the tendency to measure everything in pecuniary terms when what is needed is " a perpetual rationalized, calculating revision, so that each article of usage, appreciation or procedure must approve itself *de novo* on hedonistic grounds of sensuous expediency to all concerned at every move. . . . ." [27] With such a system of social accountancy and such a process of social utilization of it, the marginistic principle shorn of its pecuniary implications might well go far in giving a touch of exactitude to a difficult and somewhat abstract problem.[28]

The above represents a summary attempt to trace the development of the theory of marginal utility in its application to governmental expenditures. Although the treatment accorded the subject has never been voluminous there is evident real progress in thinking. Classical economists were wont to look upon governmental expenditures as, at best, necessary evils. Moreover, many writers did not consider the subject worthy to be dignified by the consideration of economists. Such attention as it received resolved itself into attempts to justify or condemn,

[27] Thorstein Veblen, *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization and Other Essays,* pp. 245-246.

[28] Harold W. Guest, *Public Expenditures,* pp. 170-171.

although some efforts were made to classify expenditures rather than to treat them *en masse*. Bastable attacked the subject seriously but hopelessly. The Austrian economists by advancing a plausible theory of value made possible the later statement of a theory of expenditures. Adams lifted the whole discussion to a modern plane. More recent writers have further developed the marginal theory of expenditures and have emphasized the " social-psychological " side of the problem, but they have given no clue to its practical application.

Meanwhile, the budget makers faced with the urgent necessity for prompt action, set up arbitrary guides and proceed on their way, blandly ignoring the contributions of the economists. But if they were to accept these theoretical principles, how could they be applied in any practical way? Can the gap ever be bridged between the high sounding theories of the scholar and the rough and ready methods of the public official?

The problem of budget distribution is one of mechanics. The final appropriation is the resultant of all the forces in action just as truly as in an analogous case in physics. To understand municipal budget making it is necessary to visualize this tremendous pressure that is being exerted from all sides—the pressure of organized interests, of ambitious department heads, of civic groups, of official prejudices, of the political potency of a low tax rate, even of public opinion where not represented by any

of the above. The final budget will be the resultant of these forces and not the outcome of a dispassionate evaluation of the various functions.

Having recognized that the ideal of marginal utility is the desirable one, but also that the difficulties inherent in its application according to the " progress-values " or " human-nature values " of Cooley [29] are practically insurmountable, is it necessary to relinquish the quest of equitable budget distribution and to resign it once more to the limbo of insoluble problems? Although the ideal can never be fully attained, it would appear that any effort which tends in that direction is worthwhile even though we are clearly conscious that at best it represents an approach toward rather than an approximation of the goal.

Marginal utility in the business world is measured through the agency of markets. With development of free competition, standardized products and widespread knowledge of conditions, more and more exactitude is attained in the balancing of one commodity against another. But this method cannot be carried over into the field of governmental services.

Lacking the market device as a determinant of utility, a second plan of procedure that suggests itself is to find our sense of values in the consensus of opinion. But is there any general agreement concerning the varying degrees of utility of the different governmental functions, upon which we can rely as a guide?

[29] Ibid., pp. 151-154.

It has been said by Arthur F. Bentley that "when we personify the choosing capacity of society, we are putting a spook behind the scenes, or, what is the same thing, in other words, we are emphasizing a tautology as a cause."[30] His further discussion of the subject demonstrates the insufficiency of such a method.

> Leaving the definitions, the hair-splitting, and the fine-drawn logic out of account as insignificant, there are certain things we need to know about a social mind, if we are to use it concretely in social interpretations; if, for example, we are going to try to make it help us in understanding why some particular law or type of legislation is adopted.
>
> One is as to its substantiality. Can we get hold of it anywhere? Can we handle it by itself before trying to put it to work? Have we any tests of it?
>
> Another is as to the amount of the social-mind process. Is there more of it in one society, or at one stage of a society, than at another? Can we estimate societies in terms of this so-called consciousness or conscious process, and depend on them to manifest it in a way that helps us to understand things? . . . . in the processes of government where it is supposed to be most characteristically manifested the only thing to do with the social will is to ignore it, as a separately existing "thing," and analyze to the best of our ability what is actually happening.[31]

There is possible a third method of attack, simpler and cruder than the others and partaking largely of the pragmatic viewpoint. It is the one that has been generally followed in working out "ideal"

[30] Arthur F. Bentley, *The Process of Government*, p. 154.
[31] Ibid., p. 158.

household budgets. Since a norm of budget distribution cannot be arrived at by deduction, will it not be wise to obtain such help as we can from objective methods? How are cities actually dividing up their appropriations? What is the average budget distribution for the entire country? What is the average for cities grouped according to various classifications? Can any conclusions be drawn from a survey of actual conditions?

It seems reasonable to suppose that just as markets measure the value of commodities, so we may roughly approximate the marginal utility of a governmental service by the average proportion of the budget that is devoted to it in a number of different cities. If the budgets of a sufficiently large number of the most progressive cities could be analyzed and compared, after variations due to peculiar political or geographical exigencies had been eliminated, certain tendencies would be apparent which would point the way to a norm of expenditures consistent with the state of progress at present achieved by society.

This would never be mathematically exact and would probably never be capable of exactly the same application to any two cities. It would simply show limits, more or less imperfectly defined, within which, after proper allowance for the particular situation, certain expenditures should fall.

It would never be safe to accept any one city as a guide, for none of them are free from political machinations or peculiar exigencies. But in a number of

cities these local variations would tend to iron out and the resulting average would approximate a norm of expenditures. It is necessary to qualify this statement somewhat further. If we assume that the forces of social progress make themselves felt more keenly in cities with higher standards of municipal achievement, then it would appear that an average of a large number of cities, including some with much higher standards than others, would represent a more well-balanced distribution than that of the lower grade cities, but considerably less equitable than that of the more progressive communities.

If high governmental standards do not affect the apportionment of expenditures, then the average distribution of the whole group will be the most well-balanced.

But the previous supposition appears to be the more likely. Accepting this as a premise, we are brought face to face with the problem of determining which are the cities to be selected. The great difficulty here is that no satisfactory method has yet been devised for selecting the most progressive cities, or rather those with the highest standards of service.

With due regard to the innumerable possibilities of error in such an undertaking an attempt will be made in the next chapter to segregate by purely objective tests of governmental excellence a number of such cities.

CHAPTER IV

Grading Cities According to Service Rendered

The measure of good government is to be found in the achievement of the administration.—Thomas H. Reed.

Within the last few years the prevailing desire for measurement and standardization has extended to city government. Recent municipal literature seethes with efforts, suggestions and attempts in the direction of rating municipalities. Many of these endeavors relate only to particular functions, others to a general summary of municipal activity. In so far as these systems have been carried out, however, they have been applied to only a limited number of cities. There has been apparently no attempt to grade all of the cities of the country from the standpoint of general municipal efficiency.

In the last chapter we were faced with the problem of obtaining a list of cities having exceptionally high standards of service. How could any such group of cities be determined upon without the taint of arbitrariness in the selection? If arbitrarily selected, the choice could be criticised as an attempt to prove predetermined conclusions. In order to proceed with the study it thus became necessary to devise some purely objective test of excellence in a city government.

Probably no perfect system of grading anything which is affected by intangible factors has ever been devised. Certainly, no extravagant claims are made for the one followed in this experiment. The I. Q. is useful, although not infallible; most teachers find "marks" indispensable, although we all recognize their limitations. In the same manner, while conscious of its imperfections, we may find the following index of use in the absence of some more satisfactory measure of service. The principle of ordinary school grading has been followed here and no recognition taken of the fact that in some cases greater natural difficulties have to be overcome than in others. The index attempts to show achievement and not effort expended. Any other procedure would involve one in a labyrinth of difficulties.

It is obviously impossible at the present status of statistical record-keeping to subject all functions of a city government to quantitative measurement. Probably many functions will never be susceptible to such measurement. But it is entirely reasonable to suppose that a carefully selected list of key functions could be found which would serve as an index to general municipal efficiency and progress. These functions must meet three major requirements. First, they must be generally accepted as municipal responsibilities; second, they must be capable of quantitative measurement; and third, statistics for them must be available in terms of *results* rather than methods or costs.

The latter requirement probably demands some explanation, for in the majority of other rating systems, methods or costs, or both, are included in conjunction with results. Both are, of course, highly important, but they should be given separate consideration and not confused with the main issue. The first and fundamental question to be answered in considering a city's efficiency is, "What service are the citizens getting?" A city government exists to give service and the citizens have a right to demand it in terms of ultimate results. The next, and extremely vital, consideration is the cost involved in rendering this service. How can a city be criticised on its cost of service until we know what type of service it is rendering? To give a city a high rating because it spends much or little on its schools, for example, is wholly to ignore the questions of efficiency and economy. If the expenses of the various city services can ever be reduced to an accurate cost system of measurement, comparison along these lines will be most enlightening from the standpoint of governmental economy. But even under such hypothetical circumstances, such a measure would not indicate that the citizens of the leading community were getting the best educational service, for example, but only that they were getting the most for the money expended on that service. This would be gratifying, of course, but it might be far from adequate.

But much progress must be made in cost accounting before we can rely upon such a method for general governmental rating. Meanwhile, if we are attempting to get a selected list of cities in order to study their budget distribution we should certainly cloud the issue by introducing costs in any form in the rating system. We might conceivably start out by deciding that a city should spend approximately 40% of its budget on schools. Grading the cities upon this assumption we should be led in a circle back to the amazing conclusion that the best cities spend 40% of the budget on schools.

A comparison of methods should never be used as a measure of efficiency. Once relative efficiency has been ascertained by objective means, a comparison of methods would be valuable as a means of determining which of them would secure the most service at the least cost. A clean city and a low death rate are desirable in themselves, while a city manager or mayor form of government is not a good *per se,* but only because it represents the best means of achieving other ends. Methods are good only so far as they give good results. The city that lowers its rate of crime the most rapidly, other things being equal, will, without doubt, have the most efficient police service, and if it can be found that this lowered rate is due to radio-equipped cruiser cars and other modern practices, then these methods are proved desirable. But it is misleading to start from the other point of view and say that a police department is the most

efficient because it has radio-equipped cars. The lowered crime rate is the significant fact for the citizens and not the possession of the modern equipment. An efficient administration must necessarily give constant thought to the development of the most scientific methods, but it should finally be judged on what it actually achieves.

A further preliminary assumption was that municipal functions were roughly divisible into three main types: Protective, Welfare and Public Works. General administrative functions may be ignored here as they occupy an intermediate and not a final rôle. In other words, the general administrative functions are not ends in themselves, but simply represent a means for carrying out other primary functions. This must not be considered as an implication that these functions are unimportant and do not justify the most careful consideration of municipal officials and research workers. It simply means that mayors, city solicitors, treasurers and other general administrative officers are necessary to a city because through them it is possible for the direct service-giving departments to function. But the departments of health, public works, education, police and fire protection and others represent functions that are ends in themselves. However, inefficiency on the part of the general administration will hamper these departments. In this way the work of the routine offices is reflected through the general level of city services. For these reasons they do not properly

come within the scope of this index, which is intended to cover results in a more or less final form. In other words, the elaborate machinery of a city government and the burdensome institution of taxes are called into existence only because they are translated into public consumers' goods which the citizens demand. The vital consideration is the quality and quantity of these goods. Everything else is subsidiary. The acid test to apply to a city government is first of all, "What are the citizens getting?" It is of more importance to the community that it get satisfactory service at a low cost than that the administration be honest, economical or efficient, but it would not take any very elaborate chain of reasoning to show that the quality of the service is almost wholly dependent upon these three desirable qualities. For this reason administrative functions should be given the most serious consideration of all those interested in municipal government, but this does not constitute a sufficient reason for including them in an index of results.

It was decided to select the functions to be rated so that they would be rather evenly distributed between the three major groups, that is, protective, public works and welfare in order that an all-round picture of the city service might be secured. With these assumptions in mind the following functions were selected for preliminary investigation: Police, Fire Protection, Conservation of Health, Sanitation,

Highways, Schools, Libraries, Recreation, Charities and Hospitals.[1]

Recent publications of various types on municipal government were thoroughly combed for suggestions as to the best index questions for each particular function. Information secured in this way was supplemented by extensive correspondence and numerous interviews with authorities on various questions involved. Thus, the questions finally selected are not the opinion of a single individual, but, it is hoped, represent the synthesis of some of the best current thought on the subject.

Suggestions made by Clarence E. Ridley in his pamphlet, "Measuring Municipal Government,"[2] were followed in several instances. The indexes for fire, health and police protection were derived largely from his study, although modifications had to be made in some instances because of the insufficiency of available data. Ayres' index of school systems[3] was studied carefully. The ten sets of data from which his index was constructed were as follows:

1. Per cent of school population attending school daily.
2. Average days attended by each child of school age.
3. Average number of days schools were kept open.
4. Per cent that high school attendance was of total attendance.

[1] This selection of functions is not so arbitary as it may appear, since it follows exactly the functional classification used in Financial Statistics of Cities, published annually by the Bureau of the Census, except that General and Miscellaneous functions are omitted.

[2] Clarence E. Ridley, *Measuring Municipal Government.*

[3] Leonard P. Ayres, *An Index Number for State School Systems,* pp. 14-15.

5. Per cent that boys were of girls in high schools.
6. Average annual expenditure per child attending.
7. Average annual expenditure per child of school age.
8. Average annual expenditure per teacher employed.
9. Expenditure per pupil for purposes other than teacher's salaries.
10. Expenditure per teacher for salaries.

The last five could not be used in this rating as they relate to expenditures. The fifth did not seem pertinent to the present study. However, questions relating to school attendance, length of school term and the proportion of total enrollment in high school were adopted outright from this index.

Book circulation per capita is the most generally accepted test of library efficiency, although some librarians object to it on the score that it ignores reference service which is becoming increasingly important in public library work. It is, of course, true that the public library has two major functions: one, to circulate books and the other to act as a great information bureau. But as one of these services can be measured and the other cannot, it seems better to grade the librarians on the measurable part of their activities rather than to ignore them wholly in an index of municipal efficiency.

Likewise, park acreage considered alone is far from complete as a check upon park service. The distribution of the parks is a vital question as well as the manner in which they are developed and the extent to which recreational facilities are provided.

The same type of objections can be raised to the indexes on public works. In no case do they tell the whole story, but they do attempt to hit upon the most vital single consideration relating to each function. It must be borne in mind that the idea throughout the survey was not to set up an ideal grading system for cities, but, to get for immediate use the best possible index of service from existing data.

Aside from the impossibility of collecting first-hand all of the necessary data, it was thought more desirable to use figures that had been compiled by authoritative investigators in each particular field. The collection of original statistical data necessitates familiarity with the field of investigation. When a number of such diverse fields were to be investigated, it was preferable that the preliminary compilation of statistics should be made by those investigators most familiar with the subject.

As a result of these two parallel investigations, that is, for satisfactory criteria of municipal services and for existing data concerning them, some of the functions originally selected had to be dropped from the list. Charities and hospitals were the first to be eliminated.

The struggle to secure comparable police data was long and arduous. It was felt that the omission of this function would constitute a decided defect in any index of governmental service. When careful investigation failed to reveal any compilation of worthwhile statistics, police reports were requested from

every city of 30,000 or over in the country. With the exception of some half dozen cities these failed to give any indication of police efficiency in handling the crime situation. Letters requesting such information were then sent to more than forty crime commissions. One after another reiterated the statement that while the ratio of arrests to felonies probably constitutes the best single index of police efficiency,[4] comparable statistics on crimes committed simply do not exist.[5] So far as could be discovered the following cities were the only ones making any effort to keep a record of crime statistics: Baltimore, Berkeley, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, New York, Pontiac and Rochester, and in some of these the effort was very uncertain indeed. Even for these few cities, the statistics available were not comparable. The classification of felonies differs from state to state and an arrest means one thing in Baltimore, another in Cleveland, and something else again

[4] Two publications which have appeared since this index was completed set forth that the best measure of police protection is not the ratio of arrests to crimes but the percentage of crimes which are cleared by arrests and the ratio of recovered to stolen property. These publications are *Uniform Crime Reporting* and the revised *Guide for Preparing Annual Police Reports,* both issued by the Committee on Uniform Crime Records of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

[5] Since January, 1930, the Committee on Uniform Crime Records has been receiving monthly reports on crimes committed from more than 60% of all cities over 30,000. These reports are made on standard forms devised by the Committee. The results are published in a monthly bulletin called Uniform Crime Reports. The number of cities keeping crime statistics is constantly increasing. Annual compilations of data relating to arrests will also be collected.

in Chicago. This dearth of crime statistics is a reflection on municipal efficiency and many criminal authorities see a direct connection between it and the deplorable crime conditions in the United States.

The following table shows the list of 15 questions selected with the sources of the data and the years covered by it. The latest possible comparable data were secured for each function.

The results of compiling the data on communicable diseases proved to be very disappointing. After the total number of cases per thousand population of the twelve most prevalent notifiable diseases had been carefully ascertained for each city, an average taken for the three years included, and the cities graded accordingly, the amazing result was apparent that the cities with the highest general and infant mortality rates had the smallest number of diseases and conversely, the cities with the lowest mortality rates had the most cases of sickness. The defect in the data was too glaring to be ignored. A death is an inescapable fact, but how be sure that the records of influenza are complete? The recording of diseases and the recording of crimes have much in common, which may account for the fact that they represent the two most conspicuous lacks in comparative municipal data. In both cases too much depends upon the vigilance of the civic official, backed up by the general alertness of the commuity, in seeking a complete record of facts. It puts a rather severe strain upon the functionary to realize that his department will appear at a disadvantage in comparison with

TABLE I—FUNCTIONAL INDEXES SELECTED AND SOURCES OF DATA

Functional index	Source of statistics	Years covered
Public Works:		
Street cleaning. Number of times per week	Municipal Index 1927	1926
Garbage collection. Number of times per week	Municipal Index 1926	1925
Sewerage. Percentage of population sewered	Municipal Index 1927	1926
Highways. Percentage of total that are paved	Municipal Index 1928	1927
Highways. Percentage of paving that is durable	Municipal Index 1926	1925
Protective:		
Police. Percentage of felonies for which arrests are made		
Fire protection. Percentage of total real property (estimated true valuation) annually destroyed by fire	Fire Prevention Yearbook for fire loss figures U. S. Bureau of the Census, Financial Statistics of Cities for property figures	Average for 1925-1927 1926
Health. Death rate per 1000 population. Adjusted for age and sex distribution	U. S. Bureau of the Census, Mortality Statistics, 1923	Average for 1920-1923
Health. Cases of communicable diseases per 1000 population.	U. S. Public Health Service, Public Health reports	Average for 1925-1927
Health. Infant mortality rate per 1000 births exclusive of still births	American Child Health Association, Statistical Report of Infant Mortality, 1927	Average for 1923-1927

TABLE I—FUNCTIONAL INDEXES SELECTED AND SOURCES OF DATA—*Continued*

Functional index	Source of statistics	Years covered
Welfare:		
Schools. Length of term	U. S. Bureau of Education, Biennial Survey of Education	1924-1926
Schools. Percentage of total enrollment in high school	U. S. Bureau of Education, Biennial Survey of Education	1924-1926
Schools. Percentage of enrollment in average daily attendance	U. S. Bureau of Education, Biennial Survey of Education	1924-1926
Libraries. Annual per capita circulation of books	Library Journal, Dec. 15, 1926, and May 15, 1927	1924-1925 1925-1926
Parks. Average population per acre of parks and playgrounds	U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Park Recreation Areas in the United States	1925-1926

those of other cities, largely in proportion to his zeal in ascertaining and recording facts. "These facts are generally concealed by most police departments," said the member of one crime commission in answering the request for crime statistics.

The next important question to be eliminated was that relating to school attendance. After the figures had been compiled and the cities graded accordingly, it was discovered upon investigation that methods of recording school attendance vary from state to state and even among cities of the same state. Legal methods are being sought to correct this situ-

ation, but at present the data are unreliable. "Comparison of attendance of different cities becomes fictitious. Records are inaccurate and loss of attendance farreaching."[6]

The question relating to the ratio of high school pupils to the total enrollment was retained, but only those cities having a like number of pre-high school years of instruction were graded on this question.

The elimination of the above questions left a discrepancy between the three groups of functions and it was for this reason that the weighting system was introduced. The theory of weighting followed should be explained. In any comparison of varied city activities weighting should be resorted to very cautiously, since it is obviously impossible to gauge the relative merits of widely different functions and any decision in this respect is apt to be purely arbitrary. When necessary, however, to preserve a proper balance between the various *types* of functions, it should be legitimate to give some extra weight to those functions which are generally recognized as of prime importance.[7] It should be kept in mind, however, that this is done, not with any idea of equalizing the rating between individual functions, which would be an impossible task, but simply to preserve a rough balance between the types of functions. This considera-

[6] Frederick Earle Emmons, *City School Attendance Service,* p. 85.

[7] A remark of Professor Seligman concerning another topic, seems applicable here also. "An uncertain rate, if it be in the general direction of justice, may nevertheless be preferable to a rate which . . . . may be more certain without being so equitable." E. R. A. Seligman, *Progressive Taxation in Theory and Practice,* p. 294.

tion is the more important when it is borne in mind that some results are not attributable to one function alone, but reflect many. Mortality rates, for example, may, to some extent, be affected by every function included in the index. Library circulation may be a better index of the educational status of the community than the number of days in the school term.

The following criteria with weights indicated were the final selection. A slight emphasis is given to protection as representing the most fundamental type of function.

Functional index	Weight	
Public Works:		
Street cleaning. Number times per week	1	
Garbage collection. Number times per week	1	
Sewerage. Percentage of population sewered	1	
Highways. Percentage of total street area paved	1	
Highways. Percentage of paving that is durable	1	
	—	5
Protective:		
Fire. Percentage of total real property annually destroyed by fire	2	
Health. Adjusted death rate per 1000 population	2	
Health. Infant mortality rate per 1000 births	2	
	—	6
Welfare:		
Schools. Length of term	1	
Schools. Percentage of total enrollment in High School	2	
Libraries. Annual book circulation per capita	1	
Parks. Number people per acre of parks and playgrounds	1	
	—	5

Table II shows the statistical data relating to each city. It was felt that fire loss and death rates for one year only would prove unfair, so an average for several years was taken on each of these functions. See Table I.

The city with the best [10] record for the performance of any activity was given a grade of 100 [11] on that service; the one with the poorest record, 50; it being assumed that as all of these services were performed to some extent by all of the cities, and as the first increment of service was the most valuable to the citizen, it would be fairer to rate the lowest city at 50 rather than at zero. (The principal difference that this makes in the final results is that the cities are included within a narrower range of points than if the grading had been from zero to 100.) The other cities were graded proportionately. An average was

[10] The term "best" does not indicate any subjective decision; in every case the data are purely objective. For example, the lowest fire and death rates constitute the best records for fire protection and health service and the highest per capita circulation of books the best record for libraries.

[11] Exceptions were made in the case of functions with a few widely scattered extremes at either end of the scale, as otherwise the bulk of the cities would have been included within a narrow range of points. For example, Council Bluffs, Iowa, had an average fire loss of more than two per cent of the total real property in the city for the three years from 1925 to 1927, inclusive. Lakewood, Ohio, had an average loss of two hundredths of one per cent for the same years. Had two per cent been taken as the base line with a grade of 50, 245 of the 250 cities would have ranked above 75 on fire protection and more than four-fifths of the cities would have ranked above 90. Consequently, the five cities with abnormally high rates had to be rejected as base line cities. This left an average fire loss of 1.02 per cent of the real property as the base line and .02 per cent as high. Cities having a fire loss as great (or greater in five cases) as the former received a grade of 50; those with the latter a grade of 100 on fire protection. The remaining cities were graded proportionately. Fire loss rates represented the most extreme variations of this kind, although the same difficulty was present to some extent with the park statistics.

TABLE II—STATISTICAL DATA RELATING TO EACH CITY

City	Street cleaning times per week		Garbage collection times per week		Percentage of population sewered	Percentage of total street area paved	Percentage of paving that is durable	Percentage of total real property annually destroyed by fire. Average for 3 years	Annual death rate per 1000 population. Average for 4 years	Annual infant mortality rate per 1000 births. Average for 5 years	Length of school term in days	Percentage of total school enrollment in high school	Annual library book circulation per capita	Average population per acre of park and playground
	Business	Residence	Business	Residence										
ALABAMA														
Birmingham	.....	.....	.....	.....	60	.....	.....	.280	17.6	87.8	176	.....	2.85	260
Mobile	.....	.....	6.0	6.0	.....	54.24	99.53	.944	.....	86.2	171	.....	.....	158
Montgomery	.....	.....	3.0	3.0	.....	.....	.....	1.224	.....	74.4	174	13.33	.....	361
ARKANSAS														
Little Rock	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.226	.....	69.7	180	15.24	2.00	249
CALIFORNIA														
Berkeley	12.0	ir [8]	3.5	3.5	100	92.68	48.66	.107	.....	44.8	186	16.65	9.70	456
Fresno	.....	.....	.....	.....	100	32.43	.....	.301	.....	66.4	179	20.08	.....	247
Long Beach	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	60	29.34	100.00	.052	.....	45.6	179	15.30	8.13	95
Los Angeles	5.0	2.0	4.5	2.5	.....	35.93	.....	.080	13.4	66.2	187	15.47	5.05	118
Oakland	14.0	14.0	1.0	1.0	.....	.....	.....	.150	10.8	59.4	186	14.51	3.71	236
Pasadena	.....	.....	3.0	2.0	90	92.60	.....	.040	.....	41.0	173	.....	.....	45
Sacramento	7.0	2.0	6.0	1.5	100	78.99	84.68	.294	.....	65.0	182	14.64	3.52	57
San Diego	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	33.02	100.00	.175	.....	55.0	188	12.16	8.00	33
San Francisco	.....	.....	6.0	3.5	.....	67.81	95.48	.....	13.7	53.8	192	16.84	3.43	200
San Jose	.....	.....	3.5	3.5	.....	.....	.....	.425	.....	49.5	177	17.75	4.53	60
Stockton	.....	.....	3.5	3.5	.....	75.02	96.14	.130	.....	64.8	182	.....	4.02	185

COLORADO														
Colorado Springs	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	90	9.15	30.59	.071	.....	77.5	181	15.83	4.24	11
Denver	6.0	2.0	6.0	1.5	85	14.84	71.09	.170	15.2	85.0	182	11.32	4.94	22
Pueblo	7.0	1.0	6.0	2.5	.....	12.83	.....	.266	.....	117.5	177	.....	3.19	140
CONNECTICUT														
Bridgeport	.....	.....	2.0	2.0	85	45.45	91.55	.068	12.3	61.2	183	.....	6.85	304
Hartford	6.0	6.0	6.0	2.0	100	79.55	28.14	.100	14.6	72.0	179	14.20	3.55	103
New Britain	.....	.....	.7	.7	70	8.75	100.00	.144	.....	82.6	185	8.42	3.86	180
New Haven	.....	.....	3.0	2.0	85	57.54	100.00	.269	13.0	64.0	186	14.75	4.20	102
Stamford	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.195	.....	61.6	184	13.82	5.86	311
Waterbury	.....	.....	2.5	2.5	.....	.....	.....	.261	.....	78.6	180	.....	3.80	384
DELAWARE														
Wilmington	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	95	62.81	89.31	.129	13.0	86.8	186	.....	4.89	187
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA														
Washington	6.0	6.0	6.0	4.5	.....	.....	.....	.117	14.8	81.6	181	15.50	2.52	128
FLORIDA														
Jacksonville	7.0	3.5	6.0	6.0	.....	30.51	.....	.348	.....	82.6	180	7.45	2.11	238
Miami	7.0	3.0	.....	.....	.....	55.09	72.08	.120	.....	94.2	161	14.35	.....	228
St. Petersburg	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	35.14	100.00	.077	.....	75.0	167	12.92	3.71	.....
Tampa	ir [8]	ir [8]	.....	.....	.....	46.54	.....	.354	.....	72.6	180	8.44	2.48	76
GEORGIA														
Atlanta	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	.....	.....	.....	.296	18.5	107.8	180	6.44	3.15	182
Augusta	.....	.....	6.0	6.0	.....	.....	.....	.337	.....	109.6	180	.....	.37	675
Columbus	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.128	.....	107.6	177	.....	1.45	176
Macon	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	90	.....	.....	.412	.....	110.6	186	.....	.....	167
Savannah	.....	.....	6.0	3.0	85	47.89	100.00	.162	.....	112.6	180	7.96	3.83	459

TABLE II—STATISTICAL DATA RELATING TO EACH CITY—*Continued*

City	Street cleaning times per week		Garbage collection times per week		Percentage of population sewered	Percentage of total street area paved	Percentage of paving that is durable	Percentage of total real property annually destroyed by fire. Average for 3 years	Annual death rate per 1000 population. Average for 4 years	Annual infant mortality rate per 1000 births. Average for 5 years	Length of school term in days	Percentage of total school enrollment in high school	Annual library book circulation per capita	Average population per acre of park and playground
	Business	Residence	Business	Residence										
ILLINOIS														
Aurora	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.466	.....	60.4	191	.....	4.94	202
Chicago	6.0	2.5	.....	.....	95	72.70	74.35	.330	12.7	73.8	192	13.38	3.63	602
Cicero	6.0	2.0	.....	.....	100	.....	.....	.677	.....	84.4	192	.....	2.00	2,980
Danville	.....	.....	3.0	2.0	80	.....	.....	.639	.....	84.8	181	.....	5.84	310
Decatur	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	.....	.....	.....	.179	.....	71.8	180	14.45	4.86	60
East St. Louis	.....	.....	.....	.....	75	40.00	98.29	1.442	.....	100.4	194	8.40	2.00	43
Elgin	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	.....	.....	.....	.247	.....	56.0	185	.....	.....	92
Evanston	.....	.....	3.0	3.0	.....	64.51	.....	.416	.....	48.4	185	.....	8.73	487
Joliet	.....	.....	4.0	1.5	.....	.....	.....	.553	.....	99.4	179	.....	6.59	.....
Moline	6.0	1.0	6.0	1.5	.....	.....	.....	.276	.....	55.4	181	.....	4.27	172
Oak Park	6.0	.75	2.0	2.0	100	98.60	78.29	.072	.....	34.2	185	.....	5.97	569
Peoria	.....	.....	1.5	1.5	.....	38.35	.....	.778	.....	78.0	184	17.56	5.05	86
Quincy	.....	.....	1.0	1.0	90	.....	.....	.426	.....	71.8	187	14.22	3.80	108
Rockford	6.0	2.0	3.0	1.0	.....	71.74	54.61	.159	.....	63.8	191	17.00	4.55	113
Rock Island	.....	.....	.....	.....	86	.....	.....	.324	.....	63.4	179	14.66	4.55	447
Springfield	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.735	.....	76.4	188	.....	4.79	67

INDIANA														
East Chicago	6.0	.5	.....	.....	98	.....	.....	.336	.....	114.8	187	6.53	3.83	355
Evansville	.....	.....	3.75	3.75	.....	65.42	.....	.343	.....	67.6	192	.....	5.80	137
Fort Wayne	6.0	.5	6.0	1.5	90	64.58	.....	.202	.....	58.4	189	.....	5.34	152
Gary	.....	.....	6.0	3.0	.....	.....	.....	.361	.....	88.2	193	.....	5.59	109
Hammond	.....	.....	ir [8]	ir [8]	.....	80.00	.....	.381	.....	79.0	195	.....	4.67	255
Indianapolis	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	.....	65.13	80.28	.196	13.9	74.4	178	.....	5.16	122
Kokomo	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	.....	45.45	.....	.514	.....	74.4	180	.....	7.27	208
Muncie	.....	.....	6.0	.5	.....	62.50	.....	.397	.....	73.6	180	20.55	5.40	166
South Bend	2.0	1.0	.....	.....	80	53.65	98.19	.279	.....	65.4	200	9.20	3.95	139
Terre Haute	.....	.....	.....	.....	80	48.64	.....	.225	.....	76.4	186	17.64	7.26	125
IOWA														
Cedar Rapids	6.0	.5	.7	1.0	.....	36.00	99.76	.399	.....	55.0	187	17.06	6.85	.....
Council Bluffs	.....	.....	3.0	1.0	.....	.....	.....	2.104	.....	76.4	181	.....	5.34	87
Davenport	.....	.....	3.0	1.5	90	65.73	100.00	.300	.....	60.8	192	15.81	10.00	75
Des Moines	.....	.....	2.0	2.0	.....	53.39	.....	.196	.....	61.8	179	15.94	6.30	114
Dubuque	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.164	.....	73.0	187	15.17	6.25	232
Sioux City	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	.....	27.55	100.00	.314	.....	72.6	180	12.88	4.52	55
Waterloo	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	.....	39.04	100.00	.337	.....	63.0	185	17.49	7.82	97
KANSAS														
Kansas City	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	.....	64.49	98.35	.433	14.2	87.6	172	12.08	2.19	338
Topeka	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	75	72.22	100.00	.218	.....	67.2	168	14.19	2.46	169
Wichita	6.0	1.0	.....	.....	98	.....	.....	.235	.....	67.2	176	13.33	4.16	139
KENTUCKY														
Covington	.....	.....	.....	.....	80	.....	.....	.217	.....	69.4	184	.....	1.50	106
Lexington	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	90	.....	.....	.392	.....	92.4	178	9.68	1.18	613
Louisville	6.0	1.0	6.0	3.0	55	.....	.....	.340	14.8	80.4	171	.....	4.10	142

TABLE II—STATISTICAL DATA RELATING TO EACH CITY—*Continued*

City	Street cleaning times per week		Garbage collection times per week		Percentage of population sewered	Percentage of total street area paved	Percentage of paving that is durable	Percentage of total real property annually destroyed by fire. Average for 3 years	Annual death rate per 1000 population. Average for 4 years	Annual infant mortality rate per 1000 births. Average for 5 years	Length of school term in days	Percentage of total school enrollment in high school	Annual library book circulation per capita	Average population per acre of park and playground
	Business	Residence	Business	Residence										
LOUISIANA														
New Orleans	6.0	2.5	6.0	6.0	92	24.08	84.09	.362	18.1	92.8	178	.....	1.65	205
Shreveport	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	80	38.46	.....	.434	.....	87.6	170	.....	1.33	95
MAINE														
Lewiston	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	.....	.....	.....	.227	.....	113.2	184	.....	2.66	2,372
Portland	4.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	75	40.59	65.13	.348	.....	73.8	180	.....	6.56	159
MARYLAND														
Baltimore	6.0	2.0	7.0	2.5	90	80.22	95.22	.169	14.8	83.6	190	8.06	1.26	255
MASSACHUSETTS														
Boston	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	100	99.16	66.27	.281	14.7	80.2	180	.....	4.40	284
Brockton	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	90	39.73	39.28	.262	.....	53.8	181	.....	4.00	684
Brookline	.....	.....	6.0	3.0	95	.....	.....	.095	.....	57.4	180	.....	7.93	139

Cambridge	2.0	1.0	6.0	2.5	100	.....	.....	.334	13.2	61.6	173	.....	3.55	1,521
Chelsea	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	.....	.....	.....	.569	.....	48.6	177	13.23	.....	1,107
Chicopee	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	31.75	.....	.241	.....	84.2	182	7.69	4.52	541
Everett	.....	.....	2.5	2.5	.....	62.61	32.00	.523	.....	64.2	175	16.85	5.10	1,008
Fall River	2.0	1.0	2.5	2.5	.....	37.09	100.00	.299	15.1	88.4	177	11.78	3.80	862
Fitchburg	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	90	25.40	100.00	.259	.....	71.6	182	16.55	2.39	164
Haverhill	.....	.....	.....	.....	85	30.00	86.62	.668	.....	63.8	181	.....	4.86	188
Holyoke	.....	.....	1.5	1.5	90	54.49	100.00	.165	.....	86.8	185	13.02	3.61	263
Lawrence	.....	.....	.....	.....	98	51.37	85.84	.407	.....	67.8	176	.....	.....	500
Lowell	.....	.....	2.0	2.0	90	.....	.....	.705	14.2	93.0	175	17.43	.....	549
Lynn	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	.....	36.56	39.14	.509	.....	71.6	176	14.67	4.71	52
Malden	6.0	ir [8]	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.233	.....	51.6	179	14.58	6.40	1,020
Medford	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.202	.....	52.0	179	15.08	2.38	913
New Bedford	.....	.....	6.0	2.5	90	82.54	59.14	.207	13.0	86.8	189	.....	4.09	477
Newton	6.0	.5	.....	.....	75	40.48	.....	.098	.....	48.2	175	20.66	9.95	162
Pittsfield	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	.....	14.82	37.48	.140	.....	54.6	183	10.31	2.95	173
Quincy	.....	.....	4.5	2.0	.....	.....	.....	.121	.....	60.2	176	11.40	7.25	221
Salem	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	99	64.59	.....	.454	.....	79.4	175	.....	3.86	107
Somerville	.....	.....	2.0	2.0	100	.....	.....	.290	.....	65.4	177	13.73	4.60	1,099
Springfield	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	.....	81.83	84.19	.151	12.0	66.8	187	12.89	8.71	97
Taunton	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.948	.....	79.2	181	.....	3.28	977
Waltham	.....	.....	.....	.....	75	67.02	.....	.224	.....	59.4	177	10.91	8.24	101
Worcester	.....	.....	.....	.....	93	.....	.....	.271	13.1	69.0	187	14.53	4.60	149
MICHIGAN														
Battle Creek	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.124	.....	83.6	189	.....	4.05	161
Bay City	2.0	1.0	6.0	1.5	80	27.43	80.16	1.440	.....	67.8	197	12.16	5.16	1,019
Detroit	2.0	1.0	6.0	1.0	80	41.23	100.00	.170	13.1	80.0	186	12.22	3.18	266
Flint	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	77	24.29	89.24	.293	.....	82.2	188	8.94	4.73	86

TABLE II—STATISTICAL DATA RELATING TO EACH CITY—*Continued*

City	Street cleaning times per week		Garbage collection times per week		Percentage of population sewered	Percentage of total street area paved	Percentage of paving that is durable	Percentage of total real property annually destroyed by fire. Average for 3 years	Annual death rate per 1000 population. Average for 4 years	Annual infant mortality rate per 1000 births. Average for 5 years	Length of school term in days	Percentage of total school enrollment in high school	Annual library book circulation per capita	Average population per acre of park and playground
	Business	Residence	Business	Residence										
MICHIGAN—Continued														
Grand Rapids	5.0	1.0	6.0	1.5	90	51.47	62.90	.281	11.1	60.8	189	11.71	5.54	160
Hamtramck	.....	.....	.....	.....	99	.....	.....	.156	.....	95.0	190	2.77	.....	12,154
Highland Park	6.0	1.0	6.0	2.0	100	98.59	100.00	.196	.....	58.8	186	.....	.....	46,499
Jackson	6.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	60	.....	.....	.359	.....	76.0	187	12.88	3.68	88
Kalamazoo	6.0	1.0	6.0	2.0	90	50.81	100.00	.406	.....	67.6	183	13.19	6.23	151
Lansing	7.0	2.0	.....	.....	.....	80.23	.....	.171	.....	75.8	184	13.61	2.25	123
Muskegon	6.0	2.0	6.0	2.0	.....	61.79	.....	.320	.....	81.0	192	16.74	7.21	245
Pontiac	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	85	21.87	71.24	.315	.....	77.4	191	13.64	1.79	139
Saginaw	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.353	.....	85.8	188	12.41	3.85	289
MINNESOTA														
Duluth	.....	.....	1.0	1.0	90	17.49	45.38	.376	.....	63.0	185	13.36	4.14	52
Minneapolis	6.0	2.5	.....	.....	85	25.77	94.29	.248	11.4	54.4	183	14.10	5.41	80
St. Paul	6.0	2.0	.....	.....	.....	24.88	100.00	.339	12.2	57.0	183	13.31	5.06	149
MISSOURI														
Kansas City	.....	.....	2.5	2.5	.....	57.37	100.00	.546	15.4	80.6	190	15.55	3.89	100
St. Joseph	.....	.....	.....	.....	65	77.37	.....	.239	.....	79.0	179	.....	6.75	.....
St. Louis	.....	.....	3.0	3.0	95	77.25	76.42	.225	13.6	67.2	195	11.56	3.26	268
Springfield	5.0	1.0	6.0	2.0	.....	41.04	99.36	.605	.....	75.4	175	13.53	3.36	156

MONTANA														
Butte	.....	.....	1.0	1.0	.....	.....	.....	.226	.....	84.2	177	16.77	.....	11
NEBRASKA														
Lincoln	6.0	1.0	6.0	2.0	97	29.17	100.00	.291	.....	59.0	174	15.18	.....	89
Omaha	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	95	56.66	99.12	.193	14.3	65.4	180	.....	3.31	143
NEW HAMPSHIRE														
Manchester	.....	.....	.....	.....	80	.....	.....	.161	.....	95.0	181	.....	2.90	347
NEW JERSEY														
Atlantic City	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.110	.....	78.8	181	.....	.....	127
Bayonne	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	89.81	.....	.135	.....	66.6	189	8.69	5.70	2,899
Camden	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	95	58.00	100.00	.043	14.6	84.4	192	6.08	2.28	414
East Orange	6.0	1.0	6.0	3.0	100	93.96	69.79	.099	.....	55.2	183	.....	5.48	1,958
Elizabeth	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	.....	71.01	86.26	.281	.....	68.0	185	8.55	3.47	2,903
Hoboken	.....	.....	6.0	6.0	.....	.....	.....	.453	.....	68.2	190	.....	.....	4,258
Jersey City	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	86.10	.....	.164	13.6	70.2	195	12.48	4.67	3,470
Newark	ir [8]	1.0	3.0	2.5	98	86.29	96.87	.390	12.8	66.4	199	9.31	2.73	14,423
New Brunswick	.....	.....	2.0	2.0	90	75.12	100.00	.268	.....	61.2	179	12.72	3.65	375
Orange	.....	.....	6.0	3.0	.....	.....	.....	.278	.....	45.8	185	.....	2.22	2,772
Passaic	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	100	86.32	87.77	.555	.....	62.8	187	.....	5.94	587
Paterson	.....	.....	.....	.....	90	.....	.....	.450	13.5	63.2	191	.....	2.64	465
Perth Amboy	7.0	2.0	.....	.....	95	.....	.....	.228	.....	81.2	188	.....	4.56	1,353
Trenton	.....	.....	3.0	3.0	.....	64.08	93.95	.132	15.2	80.4	185	10.30	3.95	425
Union City	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.203	.....	44.7	190	.....	3.02	24,193

TABLE II—STATISTICAL DATA RELATING TO EACH CITY—*Continued*

City	Street cleaning times per week		Garbage collection times per week		Percentage of population sewered	Percentage of total street area paved	Percentage of paving that is durable	Percentage of total real property annually destroyed by fire. Average for 3 years	Annual death rate per 1000 population. Average for 4 years	Annual infant mortality rate per 1000 births. Average for 5 years	Length of school term in days	Percentage of total school enrollment in high school	Annual library book circulation per capita	Average population per acre of park and playground
	Business	Residence	Business	Residence										
NEW YORK														
Albany	.....	.....	3.0	2.5	.....	.....	.....	.243	14.3	73.2	186	.....	3.33	352
Amsterdam	.....	.....	2.0	2.0	90	64.13	97.45	.404	.....	65.4	185	.....	2.73	2,001
Auburn	.....	.....	1.5	1.5	99	87.79	.....	.150	.....	69.2	183	.....	3.14	1,049
Binghamton	.....	.....	2.0	2.0	90	35.95	47.41	.....	.....	71.8	181	.....	3.40	209
Buffalo	6.0	2.5	6.0	1.5	100	76.85	97.48	.198	14.1	83.0	186	.....	4.18	317
Elmira	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	.....	30.36	94.92	.374	.....	85.4	183	.....	3.61	362
Jamestown	.....	.....	2.0	1.0	90	62.50	100.00	.164	.....	61.6	184	13.12	2.07	349
Mt. Vernon	7.0	3.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.045	.....	50.6	181	.....	.....	1,969
Newburgh	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.256	.....	67.2	184	.....	3.36	447
New Rochelle	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.116	.....	46.4	184	.....	5.33	414
New York	.....	.....	6.0	6.0	80	98.20	88.34	.144	13.2	64.8	189	12.81	2.87	553
Niagara Falls	6.0	2.0	.....	.....	.....	47.57	97.41	.176	.....	77.4	185	7.36	5.00	155
Poughkeepsie	.....	.....	2.5	2.5	99	72.98	94.87	.095	.....	83.4	182	.....	4.42	330
Rochester	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	75	57.43	99.55	.081	11.8	64.2	184	11.46	5.08	167
Schenectady	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	.....	.....	.....	.204	.....	68.4	180	10.77	3.40	423
Syracuse	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	95	45.35	100.00	.126	12.9	69.4	174	16.61	5.02	389
Troy	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	.....	.....	.....	.370	.....	91.0	183	.....	1.67	314

Utica	.....	.....	2.0	2.0	.....	44.82	98.91	.122	.....	75.4	186	.....	5.00	133
Watertown	6.0	2.0	4.5	1.5	.....	79.72	39.58	.191	.....	84.4	183	.....	3.74	108
Yonkers	6.0	1.0	2.0	1.5	80	79.59	.....	.073	11.4	67.0	184	16.51	3.35	1,443
NORTH CAROLINA														
Charlotte	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	72.19	.....	.258	.....	94.2	180	8.52	2.00	457
Durham	.....	.....	.....	.....	85	25.00	.....	.160	.....	115.2	180	.....	2.48	.....
Greensboro	.....	.....	6.0	3.0	99	.....	.....	.161	.....	87.0	180	.....	2.82	53
Wilmington	.....	.....	.....	.....	99	.....	.....	.556	.....	113.2	180	.....	1.91	112
Winston-Salem	.....	.....	.....	.....	90	65.00	100.00	.591	.....	124.6	180	.....	1.75	183
OHIO														
Akron	6.0	1.0	6.0	1.0	75	49.45	95.24	.100	10.7	67.2	185	.....	1.85	434
Canton	.....	.....	1.0	1.0	70	32.13	99.87	.033	.....	74.8	179	16.90	.....	448
Cincinnati	6.0	2.0	6.0	1.75	.....	69.38	52.88	.149	14.3	79.6	192	13.19	3.94	148
Cleveland	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	.....	84.54	99.98	.171	12.2	65.4	184	11.42	6.71	359
Columbus	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	95	.....	.....	.163	13.8	72.0	187	13.66	2.04	374
Dayton	6.0	1.0	6.0	1.0	98	43.00	49.24	.214	11.5	72.6	186	15.11	3.10	294
Hamilton	.....	.....	2.0	1.0	.....	42.85	68.43	.134	.....	73.0	192	.....	2.36	361
Lakewood	2.0	1.0	2.5	2.0	99	98.33	100.00	.020	.....	56.8	182	17.65	6.30	340
Lima	7.0	2.0	4.0	1.5	100	68.51	99.66	.089	.....	67.4	177	.....	3.27	359
Lorain	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	100	61.41	87.13	.099	.....	75.4	185	13.34	2.78	257
Portsmouth	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	.....	.....	.....	.245	.....	92.6	183	.....	.93	1,435
Springfield	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	37.15	45.11	.238	.....	75.8	191	13.24	1.32	224
Toledo	6.0	1.0	6.0	1.0	95	.....	.....	.205	12.8	73.8	180	.....	4.80	153
Youngstown	.....	.....	5.0	1.0	80	.....	.....	.124	13.1	76.8	185	14.29	4.20	325
OKLAHOMA														
Muskogee	6.0	1.0	.....	.....	75	42.67	87.40	.307	.....	.....	177	.....	4.85	129
Oklahoma City	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	80	.....	.....	.182	.....	76.0	175	13.57	3.72	41
Tulsa	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	100	68.03	100.00	.100	.....	.....	180	.....	3.00	28

TABLE II—STATISTICAL DATA RELATING TO EACH CITY—*Continued*

City	Street cleaning times per week		Garbage collection times per week		Percentage of population sewered	Percentage of total street area paved	Percentage of paving that is durable	Percentage of total real property annually destroyed by fire. Average for 3 years	Annual death rate per 1000 population. Average for 4 years	Annual infant mortality rate per 1000 births. Average for 5 years	Length of school term in days	Percentage of total school enrollment in high school	Annual library book circulation per capita	Average population per acre of park and playground
	Business	Residence	Business	Residence										
OREGON														
Portland	4.0	1.0	6.0	1.25	75	59.54	77.89	.311	11.2	47.8	191	.....	6.56	118
PENNSYLVANIA														
Allentown	.....	.....	2.5	2.5	10	37.29	99.42	.193	.....	87.8	194	.....	2.68	2,467
Altoona	.....	.....	1.5	1.5	97	62.91	100.00	.118	.....	69.0	180	16.88	.....	1,514
Bethlehem	.....	.....	2.0	1.5	60	29.90	.....	.056	.....	69.8	194	7.24	2.80	338
Chester	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.195	.....	95.0	190	13.00	.80	487
Easton	.....	.....	2.0	2.0	.....	28.68	.....	.178	.....	83.4	190	13.20	5.90	326
Erie	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	.....	.....	.....	.109	.....	69.4	195	11.89	2.63	439
Harrisburg	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	98	60.68	100.00	.323	.....	81.2	190	14.32	3.43	.....
Hazleton	6.0	6.0	1.5	1.5	75	15.64	.....	.087	.....	81.0	189	11.68	4.90	2,123
Johnstown	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	.....	.....	.....	.246	.....	81.8	180	9.39	1.27	302
Lancaster	.....	.....	2.0	1.5	.....	.....	.....	1.028	.....	79.8	198	13.51	1.80	165
McKeesport	.....	.....	1.0	1.0	.....	.....	.....	.087	.....	86.4	180	.....	.80	3,655
New Castle	.....	.....	.....	.....	90	.....	.....	.226	.....	70.2	180	12.85	2.00	1,383

Norristown	.....	.....	2.5	2.5	75	76.72	73.36	.137	.....	95.4	186	12.23	1.02	601
Philadelphia	6.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	.....	91.38	90.44	.171	13.7	74.8	188	10.39	2.03	234
Pittsburgh	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	90	.....	.....	.176	16.1	83.0	200	13.72	3.85	370
Reading	.....	.....	6.0	3.0	.....	.....	.....	.180	13.2	76.4	195	9.70	1.52	230
Scranton	6.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	.....	60.92	100.00	.211	15.2	83.2	192	11.51	1.36	623
Wilkes-Barre	6.0	3.0	2.0	1.5	99	60.38	99.77	.236	.....	78.4	183	.....	4.08	225
Williamsport	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	17.41	.....	.855	.....	74.0	195	12.64	3.10	.....
York	.....	.....	3.0	3.0	.....	54.54	100.00	.128	.....	77.2	180	.....	1.07	689
RHODE ISLAND														
Pawtucket	.....	.....	2.5	2.5	75	26.47	41.91	.250	.....	93.6	176	8.26	2.82	263
Providence	7.0	1.0	2.5	2.5	94	.....	.....	.220	14.1	72.0	182	.....	3.57	313
Woonsocket	.....	.....	1.0	1.0	66	.....	.....	.169	.....	90.6	180	.....	1.60	403
SOUTH CAROLINA														
Charleston	6.0	2.5	3.0	3.0	90	3.52	100.00	.710	.....	142.0	178	.....	.....	143
Columbia	.....	.....	.....	.....	95	26.22	100.00	.304	.....	106.8	178	.....	.....	367
TENNESSEE														
Chattanooga	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.366	.....	131.4	177	5.91	2.03	219
Knoxville	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	.....	15.25	75.45	.377	.....	93.8	179	.....	2.98	1,407
Memphis	6.0	3.0	6.0	1.5	.....	72.16	53.06	.417	20.3	98.6	180	.....	4.00	141
Nashville	7.0	2.0	6.0	0.37	.....	72.04	28.02	.694	18.0	93.6	177	.....	1.25	228
TEXAS														
Austin	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5.40	.....	.375	.....	.....	172	.....	.....	285
Beaumont	.....	.....	6.0	3.0	75	.....	.....	.204	.....	65.8	180	.....	.....	59

TABLE II—STATISTICAL DATA RELATING TO EACH CITY—*Continued*

City	Street cleaning times per week		Garbage collection times per week		Percentage of population sewered	Percentage of total street area paved	Percentage of paving that is durable	Percentage of total real property annually destroyed by fire. Average for 3 years	Annual death rate per 1000 population. Average for 4 years	Annual infant mortality rate per 1000 births. Average for 5 years	Length of school term in days	Percentage of total school enrollment in high school	Annual library book circulation per capita	Average population per acre of park and playground
	Business	Residence	Business	Residence										
Dallas	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	95	48.25	77.37	1.653	14.3	90.0	173	.....	1.37	41
El Paso	.....	.....	6.0	2.0	85	.....	.....	.191	.....	135.4	177	.....	1.77	111
Fort Worth	6.0	1.5	6.0	1.0	70	13.68	46.02	.544	.....	79.4	176	.....	.86	30
Galveston	.....	.....	6.0	2.5	.....	.....	.....	.199	.....	59.4	166	.....	1.87	1,985
Houston	.....	.....	6.0	2.5	75	23.21	57.47	.237	15.1	84.2	173	.....	2.67	56
San Antonio	.....	.....	6.0	6.0	80	32.24	39.18	.152	17.0	115.0	171	.....	1.34	118
Waco	.....	.....	.....	.....	80	.....	.....	.422	.....	80.0	173	.....	4.14	67
Wichita Falls	.....	.....	.....	.....	80	28.05	.....	.335	.....	.....	170	.....	.....	69
UTAH														
Ogden	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	70	19.16	99.54	.375	.....	53.5	178	.....	.....	368
Salt Lake City	.....	.....	.....	.....	80	18.23	34.59	.264	13.1	57.0	183	9.66	5.20	92
VIRGINIA														
Lynchburg	.....	.....	2.0	2.0	.....	35.91	84.61	.187	.....	82.0	184	.....	4.09	292
Newport News	6.0	3.0	6.0	3.0	85	.....	.....	.070	.....	90.4	184	.....	1.07	593
Norfolk	6.0	3.0	6.0	3.0	85	48.44	96.68	.163	14.7	90.6	180	13.93	1.50	463

Petersburg	.....	.....	3.0	3.0	90	63.79	40.53	.193	.....	124.0	182	.....	1.73	61
Portsmouth	6.0	ir [8]	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.292	.....	116.0	181	.....	.73	704
Richmond	6.0	6.0	1.5	1.5	99	.....	.....	.153	16.5	95.0	180	.....	.72	246
Roanoke	6.0	2.0	.....	.....	.....	30.95	.....	.075	.....	91.6	174	11.43	2.19	439
WASHINGTON														
Seattle	6.0	1.0	.....	.....	60	39.55	82.19	.193	10.2	45.8	188	.....	6.52	147
Spokane	.....	.....	6.0	1.5	65	16.61	35.10	.288	12.9	55.2	183	.....	5.09	47
Tacoma	.....	.....	6.0	1.0	.....	43.59	.....	.255	.....	47.4	181	17.43	5.50	77
WEST VIRGINIA														
Charleston	.....	.....	.....	.....	100	71.42	100.00	.161	.....	103.6	178	10.98	2.36	943
Huntington	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.415	.....	99.3	177	10.29	1.21	294
Wheeling	.....	.....	.....	.....	95	67.39	.....	.343	.....	74.4	183	.....	1.70	429
WISCONSIN														
Green Bay	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	44.44	84.57	.186	.....	75.6	187	24.42	5.38	295
Kenosha	6.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	.....	56.31	100.00	.103	.....	66.2	187	11.44	7.29	151
La Crosse	.....	.....	3.0	1.0	60	29.95	50.54	.131	.....	62.0	181	.....	7.13	59
Madison	.....	.....	4.0	1.5	.....	.....	.....	.233	.....	52.8	176	23.38	7.77	113
Milwaukee	.....	.....	.....	.....	98	[9]71.53	57.26	.153	11.1	74.6	189	.....	5.92	457
Oshkosh	.....	.....	3.5	0.75	90	.....	.....	.360	.....	60.6	189	.....	7.66	186
Racine	.....	.....	1.0	1.0	95	.....	.....	.104	.....	67.0	190	11.08	6.10	262
Sheboygan	.....	.....	4.5	2.5	.....	68.08	79.25	.168	.....	65.8	198	.....	3.89	155
Superior	.....	.....	1.0	0.75	95	39.05	79.05	.252	.....	67.0	183	.....	6.36	164

[8] ir—irregular. Given an arbitrary grade of 50. See explanation of grading on page 78.

[9] Total paving figures for Milwaukee supplied by the Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee.

taken of each city's rating on all the different functions and this represented that city's final grade. No city was included in the final rating unless statistics were available on at least eight of the twelve questions, and on not less than two from each group. Of the 250 cities included in the study, only 160 were eligible for the final rating. All cities with a population of 30,000 or over were originally included.

Table III gives the rating of each city on the various functions, also the city's final grade on the whole index. The last column shows the relative position which the city held as a final result. The 90 ineligible cities have been omitted from this table.[12]

The results become much more interesting when the cities are grouped according to size. Little is to be gained by comparisons between cities of widely

[12] The three suburban cities of Oak Park, Illinois, Lakewood, Ohio, and Highland Park, Michigan, have also been omitted from the main body of the table but are appended at the end. Although these municipalties are politically separate from the adjoining cities of Chicago, Cleveland and Detroit, respectively, they are in the main exclusive residental suburbs and cannot be considered *bona fide* cities. All of them have a high rating, but because of their parasitic nature it hardly seems fair to compare them with real cities. It is probable that some of the other cities included in the study should also be withdrawn from the main body of the table for the same reason. For example, some of the satellites of Boston border closely on the stage of being "bedroom cities." However, because it is exceedingly difficult to draw the dividing line between a parasitic and *bona fide* city it was decided to withdraw from the table only those cities which seemed to belong unquestionably to the former class.

different size. Table IV shows how a city stands in relation to others of its class. The cities are first grouped according to size and then arranged within the group according to their rank. Each city's rating is indicated in the table.

Perhaps the most outstanding result of the survey is the suggestion of tremendous possibilities for the future. When 100 represented a possible score on the basis of present achievement in various lines, no city ranked as high as 90. This indicates, moreover, that no cities excelled in all respects. Some cities were apparently emphasizing public works while others were strongest in protective or welfare activities. In many, development was irregular even within the same type of functions. For the most part, there appeared to be a strong relationship between the grades on general and infant death rates, but in one or two cities, notably Milwaukee, there is a discrepancy between even these two closely related functions.

This index does not necessarily segregate the cities that are putting forth the greatest effort nor those that are progressing the most rapidly. As indicated at the outset some communities struggle against much greater odds than others have to meet. A large proportion of aliens and negroes in the population and unfavorable climatic conditions constitute serious handicaps to many municipalities. Moreover, cities of dynamic growth must face more difficult problems in the constant building up of unimproved

TABLE III—RATING ON VARIOUS FUNCTIONS

City	Street cleaning	Garbage collection	Sewerage	Total paving	Durable paving	Fire loss [13]	Death rate [13]	Infant mortality [13]	School term	High school enrollment [13]	Library circulation	Parks	Average rating on all functions	Rank according to service rating
CALIFORNIA														
Berkeley	75.00	79.16	100.00	96.64	64.33	94.30	.....	94.60	76.66	81.77	98.32	82.20	86.68	1
Long Beach	.....	83.33	55.55	63.32	100.00	99.80	.....	94.20	65.00	79.27	89.60	100.00	84.87	12
Los Angeles	79.16	79.16	.....	66.79	.....	97.00	84.00	83.90	78.33	79.67	72.49	99.10	83.15	27
Oakland	100.00	58.33	.....	.....	.....	90.00	97.00	87.30	76.66	77.39	65.05	93.20	84.35	14
Sacramento	83.33	81.25	100.00	89.44	89.33	75.60	.....	84.50	70.00	77.70	63.99	100.00	82.34	38
San Diego	.....	.....	.....	65.26	100.00	87.50	.....	89.50	80.00	71.80	88.88	100.00	84.70	13
San Francisco	.....	89.58	.....	83.56	96.83	.....	82.50	90.10	86.66	82.93	63.49	95.00	85.51	4
Stockton	.....	79.16	.....	87.35	97.28	92.00	.....	84.60	70.00	.....	66.77	95.75	84.95	11
COLORADO														
Colorado Springs	.....	83.33	88.85	52.70	51.79	97.90	.....	78.25	68.33	80.53	67.99	100.00	78.95	83
Denver	83.33	81.25	83.30	55.70	79.90	88.00	75.00	74.50	70.00	69.80	71.88	100.00	77.49	97
Pueblo	79.16	85.41	.....	54.64	.....	78.40	.....	58.25	61.66	.....	62.16	98.00	71.43	144
CONNECTICUT														
Bridgeport	.....	66.66	83.30	71.80	94.10	98.20	89.50	86.40	71.66	.....	82.49	89.80	85.23	8
Hartford	100.00	83.33	100.00	89.73	50.09	95.00	78.00	81.00	65.00	76.65	34.16	99.85	82.09	40
New Britain	.....	56.24	66.65	52.49	100.00	90.60	.....	75.70	75.00	62.89	65.88	96.00	74.66	120
New Haven	.....	70.83	83.30	78.16	100.00	78.10	86.00	85.00	76.66	77.96	67.77	99.90	82.04	41

DELAWARE														
Wilmington	.....	81.25	94.40	80.93	92.54	92.10	86.00	73.60	76.66	.....	71.60	95.65	84.34	15
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA														
Washington	100.00	93.75	.....	.....	.....	93.30	77.00	76.20	68.33	79.75	58.43	98.60	82.43	37
FLORIDA														
Jacksonville	89.58	100.00	.....	63.94	.....	70.20	.....	75.70	66.66	60.59	56.16	93.10	73.53	134
Miami	87.50	.....	.....	76.87	80.59	93.00	.....	69.90	50.00	77.01	.....	93.60	78.94	84
Tampa	50.00	.....	.....	72.37	.....	69.60	.....	80.70	66.66	62.94	58.21	100.00	70.33	148
GEORGIA														
Savannah	.....	87.50	83.30	73.08	100.00	88.80	.....	60.70	66.66	61.80	65.72	82.05	75.45	114
ILLINOIS														
Chicago	85.41	.....	94.40	86.13	82.16	72.00	87.50	80.10	86.66	74.70	64.60	74.90	80.19	66
East St. Louis	.....	.....	72.20	68.93	98.78	50.00	.....	66.80	90.00	62.85	55.55	100.00	70.39	147
Peoria	.....	62.50	.....	68.06	.....	50.00	.....	78.00	73.33	84.65	72.49	100.00	72.88	137
Quincy	.....	58.33	88.85	.....	.....	62.40	.....	81.10	78.33	76.70	65.55	99.60	75.55	112
Rockford	83.33	66.66	.....	85.63	68.46	89.10	.....	85.10	85.00	83.32	69.71	99.36	82.55	35
INDIANA														
East Chicago	77.08	.....	97.73	.....	.....	71.40	.....	59.60	78.33	58.40	65.72	87.25	71.35	145
Fort Wayne	77.08	81.25	88.85	81.86	.....	84.80	.....	87.80	81.66	.....	74.10	97.40	84.30	16

TABLE III—RATING ON VARIOUS FUNCTIONS—*Continued*

City	Street cleaning	Garbage collection	Sewerage	Total paving	Durable paving	Fire loss [13]	Death rate [13]	Infant mortality [13]	School term	High school enrollment [13]	Library circulation	Parks	Average rating on all functions	Rank according to service rating
Indianapolis	.....	81.25	.....	82.15	86.28	85.40	81.50	79.80	63.33	.....	73.10	98.90	81.53	47
Muncie	.....	77.08	.....	80.77	.....	65.30	.....	80.20	66.66	91.76	74.44	96.70	79.10	81
South Bend	62.49	.....	77.75	76.11	98.71	77.10	.....	84.30	100.00	64.75	66.38	98.05	79.36	76
Terre Haute	.....	.....	77.75	73.48	.....	82.50	.....	78.80	76.66	84.84	84.77	98.75	82.15	39
IOWA														
Cedar Rapids	77.08	57.28	.....	66.83	99.80	65.10	.....	89.50	78.33	83.46	82.49	.....	78.16	92
Davenport	.....	68.75	88.85	82.46	100.00	75.00	.....	86.60	86.66	80.48	100.00	100.00	85.45	5
Des Moines	.....	66.66	.....	75.97	.....	85.40	.....	86.10	65.00	80.79	79.43	99.30	80.99	54
Sioux City	.....	83.33	.....	62.38	100.00	73.60	.....	80.70	66.66	73.51	69.54	100.00	78.12	94
Waterloo	.....	79.16	.....	68.43	100.00	71.30	.....	85.50	75.00	84.48	87.88	100.00	82.75	32
KANSAS														
Kansas City	.....	81.25	.....	81.81	98.82	61.70	80.00	73.20	53.33	71.61	56.60	89.10	73.85	131
Topeka	.....	83.33	72.20	85.88	100.00	83.20	.....	83.40	50.00	76.63	58.10	96.55	79.42	75
Wichita	79.16	.....	97.73	.....	.....	81.50	.....	83.40	60.00	74.58	67.54	98.05	80.13	67
KENTUCKY														
Lexington	.....	81.25	88.85	.....	.....	65.80	.....	70.80	63.33	65.89	50.99	74.35	69.43	151
Louisville	79.16	87.50	50.00	.....	.....	71.00	77.00	76.80	51.66	.....	67.21	97.90	73.58	132

LOUISIANA														
New Orleans	85.41	100.00	91.07	60.56	88.92	68.80	59.50	70.60	63.33	.....	53.61	94.75	73.96	130
Shreveport	.....	83.33	77.75	68.12	.....	61.60	.....	73.20	50.00	.....	51.83	100.00	70.06	149
MAINE														
Portland	74.99	66.66	72.20	69.24	75.76	70.20	.....	80.10	66.66	.....	80.88	97.05	75.33	117
MARYLAND														
Baltimore	83.33	85.41	88.85	90.09	96.65	88.10	77.00	75.20	83.33	62.04	51.44	92.25	79.75	72
MASSACHUSETTS														
Boston	.....	81.25	100.00	100.00	73.78	76.90	77.50	76.90	66.66	.....	68.88	90.80	80.30	63
Brockton	.....	79.16	88.85	68.79	57.82	78.80	.....	90.10	68.33	.....	66.66	70.80	76.20	108
Cambridge	62.49	85.41	100.00	.....	.....	71.60	85.00	86.20	55.00	.....	64.16	50.00	75.13	118
Everett	.....	70.83	.....	80.82	52.77	52.70	.....	84.90	58.33	82.96	72.77	54.60	69.27	153
Fall River	62.49	70.83	.....	67.40	100.00	75.10	75.50	72.80	61.66	70.89	65.55	61.90	71.89	139
Fitchburg	.....	83.33	88.85	61.25	100.00	79.10	.....	81.20	70.00	82.24	57.71	96.80	80.23	64
Haverhill	.....	.....	83.30	63.67	90.68	50.00	.....	85.10	68.33	.....	71.43	95.60	74.32	126
Holyoke	.....	62.50	88.85	76.55	100.00	88.50	.....	73.60	75.00	73.84	64.49	91.85	79.31	77
Lowell	.....	66.66	88.85	.....	.....	50.00	80.00	70.50	58.33	84.34	.....	77.55	71.75	141
Lynn	.....	79.16	.....	67.12	57.73	54.10	.....	81.20	60.00	77.77	70.60	100.00	71.72	142
New Bedford	.....	85.41	88.85	91.31	71.61	84.30	86.00	73.60	81.66	.....	67.16	81.15	81.15	51
Newton	77.08	.....	72.20	69.18	.....	95.20	.....	92.90	58.33	92.03	99.71	96.90	86.13	3
Pittsfield	.....	81.25	.....	55.69	56.57	91.00	.....	89.70	71.66	67.39	60.82	96.35	76.54	104
Salem	.....	83.33	98.84	81.87	.....	59.60	.....	77.30	58.33	.....	65.88	99.65	76.17	109
Somerville	.....	66.66	100.00	.....	.....	76.00	.....	84.30	61.66	75.53	69.99	50.05	74.54	122
Springfield	.....	83.33	.....	90.93	88.99	89.90	91.00	83.60	78.33	73.53	92.82	100.00	86.46	2
Waltham	.....	.....	72.20	83.14	.....	82.60	.....	87.30	61.66	68.82	90.21	99.95	80.41	62

TABLE III—RATING ON VARIOUS FUNCTIONS—*Continued*

City	Street cleaning	Garbage collection	Sewerage	Total paving	Durable paving	Fire loss [13]	Death rate [13]	Infant mortality [13]	School term	High school enrollment [13]	Library circulation	Parks	Average rating on all functions	Rank according to service rating
MICHIGAN														
Bay City	62.49	81.25	77.75	62.32	86.19	50.00	.....	83.10	95.00	71.80	73.10	54.05	71.56	143
Detroit	62.49	79.16	77.75	69.58	100.00	88.00	85.50	77.00	76.66	71.94	62.10	91.70	79.02	82
Flint	.....	81.25	74.42	60.67	92.50	75.70	.....	75.90	80.00	64.13	70.71	100.00	76.23	107
Grand Rapids	74.99	81.25	88.85	74.96	74.22	76.90	95.50	86.60	81.66	70.72	75.21	97.00	81.72	45
Jackson	79.16	66.66	55.55	.....	.....	69.10	.....	79.00	78.33	73.51	64.88	100.00	73.98	129
Kalamazoo	79.16	83.33	88.85	74.62	100.00	64.40	.....	83.20	71.66	74.25	79.04	97.45	79.84	70
Lansing	83.33	.....	.....	90.09	.....	87.90	.....	79.10	73.33	75.25	57.03	98.85	80.64	60
Muskegon	83.33	83.33	.....	80.39	.....	73.00	.....	76.50	86.66	82.70	84.49	92.75	81.27	49
Pontiac	.....	81.25	83.30	59.39	80.00	73.50	.....	78.30	85.00	75.32	54.38	98.05	76.58	103
MINNESOTA														
Duluth	.....	58.33	88.85	57.09	62.06	67.40	.....	85.50	75.00	74.65	67.43	100.00	74.14	128
Minneapolis	85.41	.....	83.30	61.45	96.00	80.20	94.00	89.80	71.66	76.41	74.49	100.00	83.54	24
St. Paul	83.33	.....	.....	60.98	100.00	71.10	90.00	88.50	71.66	74.53	72.55	97.55	81.02	53
MISSOURI														
Kansas City	.....	70.83	.....	78.07	100.00	50.40	74.00	76.70	83.33	79.86	66.65	100.00	75.77	111
St. Louis	.....	75.00	94.40	88.52	83.60	82.50	83.00	83.40	91.66	70.37	62.55	91.60	81.72	46
Springfield	74.99	83.33	.....	69.48	99.52	50.00	.....	79.30	58.33	75.06	63.10	97.20	73.43	135

NEBRASKA														
Lincoln	79.16	83.33	96.62	63.23	100.00	75.90	.....	87.50	56.66	78.98	.....	100.00	81.82	43
Omaha	.....	81.25	94.40	77.69	99.35	85.70	79.50	84.30	66.66	.....	62.83	97.85	83.00	29
NEW JERSEY														
Camden	70.83	66.66	94.40	78.40	100.00	100.00	78.00	74.80	86.66	57.33	57.10	84.30	78.66	86
East Orange	79.16	87.50	100.00	97.31	79.00	95.10	.....	89.40	71.66	.....	74.88	50.00	84.04	19
Elizabeth	.....	83.33	.....	85.24	90.43	76.90	.....	83.00	75.00	63.20	63.72	50.00	74.49	123
Newark	54.16	72.91	97.73	93.28	97.79	66.00	87.00	83.80	98.33	65.01	59.60	50.00	76.71	102
New Brunswick	.....	66.66	88.85	87.40	100.00	78.20	.....	84.40	65.00	73.13	64.72	86.25	79.25	78
Passaic	.....	83.33	100.00	93.30	91.48	50.00	.....	85.60	78.33	.....	77.44	75.65	79.15	80
Trenton	.....	75.00	.....	81.60	95.76	91.80	75.00	76.80	75.00	67.37	66.38	83.75	78.53	91
NEW YORK														
Amsterdam	.....	66.66	88.85	81.62	98.19	64.60	.....	84.30	75.00	.....	59.60	50.00	74.33	125
Auburn	.....	62.50	98.84	94.07	.....	90.00	.....	82.40	71.66	.....	61.88	52.55	78.63	88
Buffalo	85.41	81.25	100.00	88.31	98.21	85.20	80.50	75.50	76.66	.....	67.65	89.15	83.50	25
Elmira	.....	79.16	.....	63.26	96.44	67.60	.....	74.30	71.66	.....	64.49	86.90	74.63	121
Jamestown	.....	62.49	88.85	80.27	100.00	88.60	.....	86.20	78.33	74.08	55.93	87.55	80.51	61
New York	.....	100.00	77.75	99.54	91.87	90.60	85.00	84.60	81.66	73.34	60.38	77.35	83.70	23
Niagara Falls	83.33	.....	.....	72.91	98.17	87.40	.....	78.30	75.00	60.37	72.22	97.25	79.25	79
Poughkeepsie	.....	70.83	98.84	86.28	96.40	95.50	.....	75.30	70.00	.....	68.99	88.50	83.76	22
Rochester	.....	79.16	72.20	78.10	99.65	96.90	92.00	84.90	73.33	70.13	72.66	96.65	83.97	21
Syracuse	.....	79.16	94.40	71.75	100.00	92.40	86.50	82.30	56.66	82.39	72.33	85.60	83.13	28
Utica	.....	66.66	.....	71.47	99.21	92.80	.....	79.30	76.66	.....	72.22	98.35	82.87	30
Watertown	83.33	75.00	.....	89.82	58.03	85.90	.....	74.80	71.66	.....	65.22	99.60	78.55	90
Yonkers	79.16	64.58	77.75	89.76	.....	97.70	94.00	83.50	73.33	82.15	63.05	50.00	80.82	56

TABLE III—RATING ON VARIOUS FUNCTIONS—*Continued*

City	Street cleaning	Garbage collection	Sewerage	Total paving	Durable paving	Fire loss [13]	Death rate [13]	Infant mortality [13]	School term	High school enrollment [13]	Library circulation	Parks	Average rating on all functions	Rank according to service rating
NORTH CAROLINA														
Winston-Salem	.....	.....	88.85	82.08	100.00	50.00	.....	54.70	66.66	.....	54.16	95.85	69.70	150
OHIO														
Akron	79.16	79.16	72.20	73.90	96.66	95.00	97.50	83.40	75.00	.....	54.72	83.30	83.27	26
Canton	.....	58.33	66.65	64.79	99.87	100.00	.....	79.60	65.00	83.08	.....	82.60	80.21	65
Cincinnati	83.33	82.29	.....	84.38	67.26	90.10	79.50	77.20	86.66	74.25	66.33	97.60	80.66	58
Cleveland	.....	79.16	.....	92.36	99.95	87.90	90.00	84.30	73.33	70.03	80.91	87.05	84.08	18
Columbus	.....	79.16	94.40	.....	.....	88.70	82.00	81.00	78.33	75.37	55.77	86.30	80.62	59
Dayton	79.16	79.16	97.75	70.51	64.74	83.60	93.50	80.70	76.66	78.82	61.66	90.30	80.82	57
Hamilton	.....	62.49	.....	70.43	78.05	91.60	.....	80.50	86.66	.....	57.54	86.95	78.63	89
Lima	83.33	72.91	100.00	83.93	99.73	96.10	.....	83.30	61.66	.....	62.60	87.55	84.20	17
Lorain	.....	79.16	100.00	80.19	91.03	95.10	.....	79.30	75.00	74.60	59.88	92.15	82.72	33
Springfield	.....	.....	.....	67.43	61.87	76.20	.....	79.10	85.00	74.37	51.77	93.80	74.47	124
Toledo	79.16	79.16	94.40	.....	.....	84.50	87.00	80.10	66.66	.....	71.10	97.35	82.58	34
Youngstown	.....	74.99	77.75	.....	.....	92.60	85.50	78.60	75.00	76.87	67.77	88.75	80.87	55
OKLAHOMA														
Oklahoma City	.....	83.33	77.75	.....	.....	86.80	.....	79.00	58.33	75.15	65.10	100.00	78.76	85
OREGON														
Portland	70.83	80.20	72.20	79.21	84.62	73.90	95.00	93.10	85.00	.....	80.88	99.10	84.00	20

PENNSYLVANIA														
Allentown	.....	70.83	50.00	67.51	99.56	85.70	.....	73.10	90.00	.....	59.32	50.00	73.16	136
Altoona	.....	62.50	96.62	80.98	100.00	93.20	.....	82.50	66.66	83.03	.....	50.00	81.18	50
Bethlehem	.....	64.58	55.55	63.62	.....	99.40	.....	82.10	90.00	60.09	59.99	88.10	75.41	115
Easton	.....	66.66	.....	62.98	.....	87.20	.....	75.30	83.33	74.27	77.22	88.70	77.49	98
Harrisburg	.....	81.25	97.73	79.81	100.00	72.70	.....	76.40	83.33	76.94	63.49	.....	79.80	71
Hazleton	.....	62.50	72.20	56.12	.....	96.30	.....	76.50	81.66	70.65	71.66	50.00	75.46	113
Norristown	.....	70.83	72.20	88.25	81.47	91.30	.....	69.30	76.66	71.96	50.11	74.95	75.35	116
Philadelphia	87.50	75.00	.....	95.96	93.33	87.90	82.50	79.60	80.00	67.58	55.71	93.30	81.06	52
Pittsburgh	.....	79.16	88.85	.....	.....	87.40	70.50	75.50	100.00	75.51	65.83	86.50	79.85	69
Scranton	87.50	58.33	.....	79.93	100.00	83.90	75.00	75.40	86.66	70.25	51.99	73.85	76.49	106
Wilkes-Barre	87.50	64.58	98.84	79.65	99.80	81.40	.....	77.80	71.66	.....	67.10	93.75	81.77	44
York	.....	75.00	.....	76.58	100.00	92.20	.....	78.40	66.66	.....	50.38	70.55	78.03	95
RHODE ISLAND														
Pawtucket	.....	70.83	72.20	61.81	59.65	80.00	.....	70.20	60.00	62.51	60.10	91.85	69.37	152
Providence	79.16	70.83	93.29	.....	.....	83.00	80.50	81.00	70.00	.....	64.27	89.35	79.65	74
SOUTH CAROLINA														
Charleston	85.41	75.00	88.85	50.00	100.00	50.00	.....	50.00	63.33	.....	.....	97.85	69.13	154
TENNESSEE														
Knoxville	.....	81.25	.....	55.91	82.93	67.30	.....	70.10	65.00	.....	60.99	50.00	67.08	156
Memphis	87.50	81.25	.....	85.85	67.39	63.30	50.00	67.70	66.66	.....	66.66	97.95	70.40	146
Nashville	83.33	75.00	.....	85.78	50.01	50.00	61.00	70.20	61.66	.....	51.38	93.60	66.39	157

TABLE III—RATING ON VARIOUS FUNCTIONS—*Continued*

City	Street cleaning	Garbage collection	Sewerage	Total paving	Durable paving	Fire loss [13]	Death rate [13]	Infant mortality [13]	School term	High school enrollment [13]	Library circulation	Parks	Average rating on all functions	Rank according to service rating
TEXAS														
Dallas	.....	81.25	94.40	73.27	84.26	50.00	79.50	72.00	55.00	.....	52.05	100.00	72.55	138
Fort Worth	81.25	79.16	66.65	55.09	62.50	50.60	.....	77.30	60.00	.....	50.00	100.00	67.53	155
Houston	.....	85.41	72.20	60.10	70.45	81.30	75.50	74.90	55.00	.....	59.27	100.00	74.29	127
San Antonio	.....	100.00	77.75	64.85	57.75	89.80	66.00	59.50	51.66	.....	51.88	99.10	71.81	140
UTAH														
Ogden	.....	79.16	66.65	57.97	99.64	67.50	.....	90.25	63.33	.....	.....	86.60	76.88	101
Salt Lake City	.....	.....	77.75	57.48	54.57	78.60	85.50	88.50	71.66	65.85	73.33	100.00	76.54	105
VIRGINIA														
Lynchburg	.....	66.66	.....	66.78	89.28	86.30	.....	76.00	73.33	.....	67.16	90.40	77.82	96
Newport News	87.50	87.50	83.30	.....	.....	98.00	.....	71.80	73.33	.....	50.38	75.35	79.69	73
Norfolk	87.50	87.50	83.30	73.37	97.66	88.70	77.50	71.70	66.66	76.01	52.77	81.85	78.65	87
Petersburg	.....	75.00	88.85	81.24	58.69	85.70	.....	55.00	70.00	.....	54.05	100.00	73.56	133
Richmond	100.00	62.50	98.84	.....	.....	89.70	68.50	69.50	66.66	.....	50.00	92.70	77.17	99
Roanoke	83.33	.....	.....	64.17	.....	97.50	.....	71.20	56.66	70.06	56.60	83.05	74.66	119

WASHINGTON														
Seattle	79.16	.....	55.55	68.69	87.60	85.70	100.00	94.10	80.00	.....	80.66	97.65	85.30	6
Spokane	.....	81.25	61.10	56.42	54.92	76.20	86.50	89.40	71.65	.....	72.72	100.00	77.09	100
Tacoma	.....	79.16	.....	70.82	.....	79.50	.....	93.30	68.33	84.34	74.99	100.00	82.50	36
WEST VIRGINIA														
Charleston	.....	.....	100.00	85.46	100.00	89.90	.....	65.20	63.33	68.99	57.54	57.85	76.03	110
WISCONSIN														
Green Bay	.....	.....	.....	71.27	89.25	86.40	.....	79.20	78.33	100.00	74.33	90.25	84.96	10
Kenosha	79.16	62.49	.....	77.51	100.00	94.70	.....	83.90	78.33	70.08	84.94	97.45	82.86	31
La Crosse	.....	66.66	55.55	63.64	65.64	91.90	.....	86.00	68.33	.....	84.05	100.00	78.15	93
Milwaukee	.....	.....	97.73	85.54	70.31	89.70	95.50	79.70	81.66	.....	77.33	82.15	85.04	9
Oshkosh	.....	68.00	88.85	.....	.....	69.00	.....	86.70	81.66	.....	86.99	95.70	81.40	48
Racine	.....	58.33	94.40	.....	.....	94.60	.....	83.50	83.33	69.23	78.32	91.90	81.90	42
Sheboygan	.....	79.16	.....	83.68	85.56	88.20	.....	84.10	96.66	.....	66.05	97.25	85.29	7
Superior	.....	57.28	94.40	68.43	85.42	79.80	.....	83.50	71.66	.....	79.76	96.80	80.03	68
SUBURBAN CITIES														
Oak Park, Ill.	78.12	66.66	100.00	99.75	84.90	97.80	.....	100.00	75.00	.....	77.60	76.55	87.84	.....
Highland Park, Mich.	79.16	83.33	100.00	99.75	100.00	85.40	.....	87.60	76.66	.....	.....	50.00	84.99	.....
Lakewood, Ohio	62.49	68.74	98.84	99.61	100.00	100.00	.....	88.60	70.00	84.86	79.43	88.00	86.71	.....

[13] Double weighting.

TABLE IV—SERVICE RANK

Group I Cities over 500,000		Group II Cities from 300,000 to 500,000		Citi	
City	Rating	City	Rating		
San Francisco	85.51	Seattle	85.30	Springfi	
Milwaukee	85.04	Rochester	83.97	Bridgep	
Cleveland	84.08	Minneapolis	83.54	Long B	
New York	83.70	Toledo	82.58	San Di	
Buffalo	83.50	Indianapolis	81.53	Oakland	
Los Angeles	83.15	Cincinnati	80.66	Wilmin	
Washington	82.43	Newark	76.71	Fort W	
St. Louis	81.72	Kansas City, Mo.	75.77	Portlan	
Philadelphia	81.06	New Orleans	73.96	Akron	
Boston	80.30	Louisville	73.58	Syracus	
Chicago	80.19			Omaha	
Pittsburgh	79.85			Utica	
Baltimore	79.75			Tacoma	
Detroit	79.02			Hartfor	
				New H	
				Grand	
				New B	
				St. Pa	
				Des Mo	
				Youngs	
				Dayton	
				Yonkers	
				Columb	
				Canton	
				Provide	
				Miami	
				Oklaho	
				Camden	
				Norfolk	
				Trentor	
				Denver	
				Richmo	
				Spokan	
				Salt L	
				Scranto	
				Flint	
				Cambri	
				Somerv	
				Elizabe	
				Housto	
				Duluth	
				Kansas	
				Jackson	
				Dallas	
				Fall R	
				San A	
				Lowell	
				Lynn	
				Memph	
				Tampa	
				Fort W	
				Knoxvi	
				Nashvi	

s According to Size Groups

o 300,000		Group IV Cities from 50,000 to 100,000		Group V Cities from 30,000 to 50,000	
	Rating	City	Rating	City	Rating
....	86.46	Berkeley	86.68	Sheboygan	85.29
....	85.23	Newton	86.13	Green Bay	84.96
....	84.87	Davenport	85.45	Stockton	84.95
....	84.70	East Orange	84.04	Lima	84.20
....	84.35	Kenosha	82.86	Poughkeepsie	83.76
....	84.34	Rockford	82.55	Waterloo	82.75
....	84.30	Sacramento	82.34	Lorain	82.72
....	84.00	Terre Haute	82.15	Oshkosh	81.40
....	83.27	Racine	81.90	Muskegon	81.27
....	83.13	Lincoln	81.82	Jamestown	80.51
....	83.00	Wilkes-Barre	81.77	Waltham	80.41
....	82.87	Altoona	81.18	Fitchburg	80.23
....	82.50	Lansing	80.64	Superior	80.03
....	82.09	Wichita	80.13	New Brunswick	79.25
....	82.04	Kalamazoo	79.84	Muncie	79.10
....	81.72	Harrisburg	79.80	Colorado Springs	78.95
....	81.15	Newport News	79.69	Auburn	78.63
....	81.02	Topeka	79.42	Hamilton	78.63
....	80.99	South Bend	79.36	Watertown	78.55
....	80.87	Holyoke	79.31	La Crosse	78.15
....	80.82	Niagara Falls	79.25	York	78.03
....	80.82	Passaic	79.15	Lynchburg	77.82
....	80.62	Cedar Rapids	78.16	Easton	77.49
....	80.21	Sioux City	78.12	Ogden	76.88
....	79.65	Pontiac	76.58	Pittsfield	76.54
....	78.94	Brockton	76.20	Salem	76.17
....	78.76	Charleston, W. Va.	76.03	Quincy, Ill.	75.55
....	78.66	Savannah	75.45	Hazleton	75.46
....	78.65	Bethlehem	75.41	Norristown	75.35
....	78.53	Portland, Me.	75.33	Elmira	74.63
....	77.49	New Britain	74.66	Amsterdam	74.33
....	77.17	Roanoke	74.66	Haverhill	74.32
....	77.09	Springfield, Ohio	74.47	Petersburg	73.56
....	76.54	Jackson	73.98	Bay City	71.56
....	76.49	Springfield, Mo.	73.43	Pueblo	71.43
....	76.23	Allentown	73.16	East Chicago	71.35
....	75.13	Peoria	72.88	Lexington	69.43
....	74.54	East St. Louis	70.39	Everett	69.27
....	74.49	Shreveport	70.06		
....	74.29	Winston-Salem	69.70		
....	74.14	Pawtucket	69.37		
....	73.85	Charleston, S. C.	69.13		
....	73.53				
....	72.55				
....	71.89				
....	71.81				
....	71.75				
....	71.72				
....	70.40				
....	70.33				
....	67.53				
....	67.08				
....	66.39				

areas and the betterment of social conditions among the new citizens. The attempt was to find a measure of achievement. The most that can be said of it is that it indicates those cities which are at present enjoying relatively high standards of governmental living.

Before proceeding further with the study, or attempting to draw any conclusions based upon the grading, it seems desirable to digress long enough to comment briefly on the plausibility of the results. It was admitted at the outset that certain grave defects existed in the rating. Important functions were wholly omitted, some of the criteria of service were inadequate, available statistics were in some cases unsatisfactory and incomplete, and 90 of the 250 cities had to be left out altogether because of insufficient data. Having recognized these imperfections, can we attach any weight to the results? Shall we say that the high grades of Berkeley, California, and Springfield, Massachusetts, are to be attributed solely to chance and that a rating of 66.39 is no reflection upon Nashville, Tennessee?

Although it is not possible to confirm the results, it seems that such verification as can be deduced should be brought forward. How do the results square with the general consensus of opinion concerning these cities? It would be impossible to answer this accurately. So far as it has been brought to the writer's attention, there has been apparent no obvious nor striking dissimilarity between the rela-

tive position of a city and the opinion generally held of it by outsiders. This, however, hardly seemed satisfactory evidence on this point, so a few of the leading cities were sampled by making them the object of a personal survey.

It was part of the underlying theory of the grading that a city which was civic-minded enough to win a high rank on the more or less basic functions selected would also exhibit a spirit of enterprise in dealing with more intangible problems. A city that has high educational standards, well paved streets, adequate sewerage facilities, low fire and death rates, frequent street cleaning and garbage collection, active libraries and liberal space for parks and playgrounds, is not likely to neglect the water supply or to ignore city planning, cultural and recreational features and esthetic development.

The purpose of the visit was to see whether first-hand impressions tallied with the rating and whether any noticeable evidence of achievement in other governmental functions was apparent. Approximately a dozen cities were visited and in no case was there evident any obvious disparity between impressions and rating.[14]

[14] An interesting example of this is to be found in Detroit. The comparatively low rating of that dynamic metropolis was a source of surprise until the city was visited. Then certain factors became apparent which had previously been overlooked. Detroit is one of the most rapidly growing cities in the country, both in area and population. In the ten years from 1917 to 1927, the area of the city almost trebled, increasing from 30,028 acres in 1917 to 88,975 in 1927. Population increased from 603,993 to 1,312,300. None of the other

The first intention was to include a brief discussion of city activities in the leading city of each size group,[15] but as three of these leaders are on the Pacific Coast, which was not included in the field trip, Milwaukee which held second place for the very large cities has been substituted for San Francisco, with which it almost tied, San Francisco having a grade of 85.51 while that of Milwaukee was 85.04, and no representatives of Groups II and IV will be discussed. The three cities then remaining are Milwaukee for Group I, Springfield (Mass.) for Group III and Sheboygan for Group V. Population figures according to 1927 census estimates are as follows: Milwaukee, 531,100; Springfield, 147,200; and Sheboygan, 34,500. The respective sizes of the cities should be remembered in considering their achieve-

large cities show such a rapid growth in area. Baltimore is the next highest, increasing from 19,290 acres in 1917 to 50,560 acres in 1927. Most of the other large cities show relatively slight increases. This tremendous expansion of area imposes heavy burdens upon the city in improvements. Sewerage, paving and lighting must be provided for the new territory. When a municipality is constantly taking in undeveloped territory, regardless of how diligently it may be pushing this work, it means that at any given moment a certain percentage of its area is unimproved and in a rating such as the one followed in this study this would put such a city at a disadvantage as compared with old established cities of relatively slow growth. But in the case of Detroit there is another even greater handicap. The lure of its great industries attracts hordes of unemployed from all over the country. The city is flooded with these destitute workers who come seeking jobs. This heavy influx of undesirables makes it very difficult to raise the general social standards of the city, despite its great wealth.

[15] See Table IV on p. 95.

ments. It must be borne in mind that this description is in no sense advanced as scientific proof, but merely because it may be of interest. The discussion will center around such features as are not indicated by the rating system.

City planning is emphasized in each of the three cities under discussion. All of them have adopted comprehensive city plans and are adhering to zoning regulations. Plans for civic centers are being developed in all of them. None of them have slums. A special feature of city planning is park development. It can be seen from the rating that these cities have high grades on park acreage. Moreover, for all of them large tracts of land outside the city limits are being reserved for future development.

Sheboygan, like Milwaukee, is obtaining ownership of its lake front and developing parks and drives along it. Other parks are well distributed throughout the city. Special attention is given to recreational features. The city has provided tennis courts, golf courses, skating rinks, bathing beaches, baseball diamonds, picnic grounds and a tourist camp. Two open air theaters are planned. One is now being constructed.

In Springfield the parks are unusually attractive. There is approximately one acre of park and playground space for every hundred inhabitants. Recreational facilities are highly developed, including playgrounds, bathing beaches, social centers, tennis courts, baseball diamonds, bowling green, 18-hole

municipal golf course of 146 acres and a zoological garden. The beautiful natural scenery of the parks has been preserved and enhanced by careful planning. Springfield also is making determined efforts to secure its waterfront for recreational purposes. In one year over two miles of stream frontage land were acquired by the city. Cultural facilities are abundant. The city has a number of museums housed in attractive buildings and containing outstanding collections. One of them is devoted to historical collections, another to natural history and a third to art.

It seems startling for a city to possess six miles of its waterfront and to develop it for the use and enjoyment of the people as Milwaukee is doing. Two parks extend the greater part of this distance along the lake shore. A wide driveway is now being constructed which will run along the lake the entire length of the city, passing over the industrial area by means of a viaduct. Other large parks are scattered throughout the center and suburbs. One of them contains a conservatory and another the famous zoological park. Every effort is made to make the habitation of the animals as natural as possible. Instead of being caged the monkeys play out-of-doors on an island surrounded by a deep moat. Their playground is equipped with swings, mirrors, and other devices for their entertainment. A mountain is being constructed to be the home of some Rocky Mountain goats. Municipal golf courses, tennis courts, bathing beaches, skating ponds, numerous playgrounds and

well kept flower beds offer diversion for every type of citizen. Attendance of over 7,000,000 was recorded for the various recreational features in one year. The numerous artificial lakes and the three rivers winding through the heart of the city are automatically flushed to avoid stagnation.

The three cities discussed are all industrial communities and pride themselves on the diversified nature of their industries. For this reason they claim to be exceptionally free of seasonal slumps and business depressions. All have an unusually high grade of labor. The two Wisconsin cities represent a more homogeneous population with a marked German strain. Springfield is basically composed of New England stock but has had to meet a constant influx of foreigners. Twenty-five per cent of the population are foreign born. All of these cities emphasize industrial education to an unusual degree. Springfield has developed some pioneer methods in educating the foreign born.

To summarize, all three of the cities have adopted city plans, all are making determined efforts to secure waterfront property for recreational purposes. All are remarkably free of crime. Unusual attention is given in each city to sanitary regulations. The two larger cities have nationally recognized museum collections. Recreational features are given prominence in all of them. Esthetic development is emphasized in all.

The three cities all have the mayor-council type of government. The present mayor of Milwaukee, a Socialist, is now serving his fifth term and in 1932 when his present term expires he will have been mayor for 16 years. Springfield has a bi-cameral council.

There are outstanding governmental achievements in each of the cities that merit some special attention. The ones selected are only a few of the more striking accomplishments.

Sheboygan is a conspicuous example of orderly, well-balanced development. Three main characteristics of the town forcibly impress the visitor. It is extraordinarily symmetrical. Its streets are straight and wide and its parks and playgrounds carefully spaced.

A second outstanding feature is that attention is being paid to progress along esthetic lines. The city is securing ownership of the lakefront and developing it with parks and drives. There are a number of very beautiful parks. Large tracts of land outside the city limits are being secured for future use. Public buildings are attractive and well kept. The streets are bordered with oak, elm and maple trees. Comfortable looking homes, well-kept lawns and a profusion of flowers are universal throughout the city. There are no slums. There are no unsightly backyards and alleyways. A new fire station was built in the form of an attractive bungalow to avoid spoiling the effect of a residential district.

But the most striking characteristic of the city is its phenomenal cleanliness. It is a community virtue. Public buildings, parks, picnic grounds, streets, back yards and factory grounds are kept scrupulously clean. All garbage must be wrapped in paper before being collected. It is burned in an odorless incinerator. The disgusting sights and smells usually associated with refuse collection are entirely eliminated. A two-day city-wide clean-up is staged every spring when all of the city trucks are requisitioned into service for the purpose of removing any rubbish which the citizens may have for disposal as a result of their annual spring cleaning activities.

Interviews were had with the Mayor, Comptroller and the heads of the Park, Water, Fire and Police Departments. Parks, schools, library, waterworks, incinerator and fire stations were among the places visited. Throughout the entire city government a strong spirit of enterprise was noticeable. The city owns its own waterworks, does its own paving, has a nursery to raise its own trees.

In Springfield a high standard of governmental service is manifested in many ways. The keynote to the town, spiritually as well as architecturally, is the very lovely civic group erected in 1913 before the mania for civic centers became so prevalent. The group comprises the Auditorium and City Hall, two classic buildings of Indiana limestone, which flank a stately campanile 300 feet high. The fresh appearance of the buildings, as well as their beauty and dig-

nity, viewed from both the interior and the exterior, forms a rather pleasing exception to the generality of city halls. Other public buildings in the city maintain the standards of beauty and good taste.

The Streets and Engineering Department claims preeminence in two respects. Ashes are collected from the cellars of the houses.[16] The second is its program of snow removal. Every one of the 200 miles of public streets is plowed after each storm. A schedule is maintained in readiness to show the order in which streets must be cleared and the dumping places for each section. A heavy snow storm is not permitted to tie up traffic even for a few hours.

The city has undertaken a project of monumental proportions in the construction of the Cobble Mountain dam and reservoir. Springfield gets its water supply from the foot-hills of the Berkshires. Having reached a point where the Little River supply was no longer felt to be adequate in the event of a dry season, the city was faced with the problem of increasing its water resources. The stream afforded but one suitable place for this development. Either this site had to be used or a number of smaller reservoirs constructed at a much greater expense. If the city determined upon the large reservoir it was necessary to construct a dam of sufficient size to make full use of the stream, for having once used the location it would be difficult to increase its capacity later when the demand for more water was felt. It was decided to build the dam and reservoir of the size best

[16] This is also true of Milwaukee.

fitted for a future supply. The dam will be 1505 feet in thickness along the stream, 700 feet in width across the valley at the top and about 245 feet above the surface of the prepared rock in the center of the dam. The dam will be one of the highest of its kind in the country. It required the use of 1,800,000 cubic yards of gravel, rock and hydraulic fill. When it is completed 22,225,000,000 gallons of water will be stored in this reservoir. The present population of the city is estimated at 150,000. The new reservoir will take care of a population of 500,000. The filter plant has a capacity of 30,000,000 gallons. The present use is about 18,000,000 gallons. The total cost of construction of the dam, reservoir and a hydraulic power house will be approximately $6,000,000. The city has fortunately entered into a contract for the sale of the power so developed that will assist materially in reducing this debt and will enable the department to continue to operate on a self-supporting basis.

Milwaukee is an exceptionally interesting city for students of municipal government. The lake front development, the parks, zoological garden, museum and sewage plant are some of the more notable civic achievements. The first three have already been mentioned.

The Milwaukee Public Museum is probably one of the oldest tax-supported municipal museums in the country.[17] Such institutions are still far from universal. In 1882 the Natural History Society donated

[17] The city also supports an art institute.

its entire collection to the city, with the provision that it would be accepted as a nucleus for a public museum. Beginning with the same year, a special mill tax was levied for the maintenance and increase of the collections. Donations and public subscriptions have from time to time supplemented the museum funds. The early natural history collections were increased and notable collections of archæological, ethnological and mineralogical specimens were added. The Rudolph J. Nunnemacher collection of arms, armor, carvings, ceramics and textiles is now owned by the Museum. The finest Indian pipe collection in America may also be found here. The historical museum was later established as a part of the Public Museum. The total collections now include 668,431 specimens. An extensive research program is carried on by the staff. An expedition which has recently returned from East Africa brought back material for the building of groups showing the mammals, birds and native life of that section that will reproduce the life of the Great East African Highlands in a manner never before undertaken. Work was done for 40 environmental groups. There are approximately one million annual visitors to the Museum.

The Milwaukee sewage disposal plant is of particular interest, not only because it represents a pioneer achievement, but also because it has successfully met a problem that is troubling other lake front cities. Sewage disposal in the lake cities constitutes

a somewhat more acute problem than in some other regions for the sewer mains must empty into the same lake from which the drinking water is obtained. In 1915 the newly created Sewerage Commission of Milwaukee conducted preliminary laboratory investigations on the recently discovered activated sludge process. An experimental demonstration plant was run until the process was definitely proved to be a success. In 1921 the Milwaukee Sewerage Commission was changed into the Metropolitan Sewerage Commission and plans were made so that all sanitary and industrial wastes created in the whole drainage district were received and treated at the central disposal plant.

The daily flow of approximately 80,000,000 gallons of sewage is carried to the sludge plant on Jones Island, a made peninsula jutting out into the harbor from the industrial district of the city. It is first passed through screens to catch insoluble wastes. The screened sewage passes into a mixing channel where activated sludge returned from the system is mixed with it, and from there into the aeration tanks, where 1500 cubic feet of air are forced through each thousand gallons of raw sewage. From the aeration tanks the sewage flows into the sedimentation tanks. The activated sludge causes the particles to combine and hence to settle much more rapidly. It removes from 95 to 99% of all the bacteria and suspended matter originally present in the sewage and leaves a relatively pure effluent to

flow into the lake. The sludge drawn off from the bottom of these sedimentation tanks is now known as activated sludge. About 90% of it is pumped back to be mixed with the incoming raw sewage and the remaining 10% is sent to the filter house to be converted into dry fertilizer. The product is known as Milorganite, and has proved to be highly valuable commercially. The income from this fertilizer for 1929 was $612,000 after all expenses for selling and distribution had been deducted.

The above brief synopses indicate the extent to which a personal survey corroborated the ratings in the case of the few cities mentioned. Unfortunately, such a method can be tried only by sampling. An appraisal of 160 cities by personal inspection is too great an undertaking for one individual. Even were it possible it would still partake too much of the subjective point of view to be either conclusive or scientific, although perhaps eminently satisfying to the individual making the survey. It partakes rather more of an emotional satisfaction than a rational one.

There are, however, other reasons for believing that the ratings do reflect actual conditions—reasons which are purely objective and can more safely be termed scientific. The most conclusive tests of their reliability lie within the figures themselves. A random collection of statistics would show neither definite tendencies nor correspondence with other factors. As will be evident from Chapters V and VI,

the ratings do show such tendencies and relationships, not only for the total mass of cities, but also for each of the size groups, taken separately. Such results would not be possible unless some definite quality had been responsible for the final ranking of the cities. Had there been a larger number of cities in each group and had the index been more perfect, it is possible that further and more pronounced tendencies would have been revealed, but the number that are apparent seem to indicate that, however far off individual cases might be, rough quality grouping had been obtained for the majority of the cities.

Perhaps the most that can be said of the results is that they are roughly indicative of the type of service the city government is rendering. They cannot be accepted as final or conclusive proof of the disparity between any two given cities, but they give an approximate idea of the relative status of the majority. It seems impossible that a backward or unprogressive city could find a leading place in the survey, or that one with a highly developed standard of municipal living would fall in the lowest ranks. That some cities struggle against greater handicaps than others cannot be gainsaid, that many progressive and enterprising city governments may appear at a disadvantage because their policies have not been in force long enough to be measured in results is granted. As previously explained the grading takes no account of effort expended or cost involved,

although these factors must always be considered by the individual government. The former will probably always remain too intangible to be classified. The latter signifies little until we first know the results. Upon the basis of results only can we measure costs. Cost accounting is a step in this direction and holds great promise of future utility, but at present it is being applied to only a small proportion of city activities. Even when cost accounting has been developed in as many different services as possible, it will still be necessary to have some broad general check by means of which we can pass upon the quality of the city government taken *in toto*. Borrowing the phraseology of the business world we need to know two things—the output and the cost of the output.

That more and more study will be given to the problem of finding such a measuring device and continually improving it, seems evident from the widespread general interest in the subject and from its tremendous potentiality as a weapon which the citizen may wield when demanding improved governmental service. A recent issue of *Citizens' Business* published by the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research predicts the widespread use of municipal honor lists.

> Scientific measurement of government marks a new era in civic work. In the first stage, now pretty well past, the principal objective was the exposure of corruption. In the next stage, the present, constructive criticism and cooperation with public officials are the predominant aims. In the new stage, now beginning, the establishment of honor lists of cities

will be the central purpose. This will be by far the keenest tool yet fashioned for improving government. Cities will be graded by methods as little open to challenge as the methods of rating baseball players and teams. And the effect should be about the same. A tremendous urge to improve a city's rating, or at least not to lose the position it has, will be set in motion. Public officials will feel the spur most keenly, but it will reach also far into the citizenry.[18]

[18] Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia, "Municipal Batting Averages," in *Citizens' Business,* No. 896, July 23, 1929.

CHAPTER V

Factors Affecting the Rating

Two tests of practical efficiency may be applied to the government of a city: What does it provide for the people, and what does it cost the people?—James Bryce.

If we accord to the results of the last chapter sufficient significance to concede that the highest ranking cities are enjoying a higher grade of governmental service than the others, it begins to be worthwhile to consider some of the causes that may possibly lead to increased service. Is a city's rating affected by its size, geographical location, form of government, cost of government or per capita wealth? Many other factors suggest themselves as possible determinants; for example, the racial composition of the population, character of the local industries, rate of the city's growth and density of population. It is not possible in this study to estimate the influence of the last named factors. However, a cursory attempt will be made to consider the effect of the first group upon the quality of governmental service.

An attitude rather frequently taken is that small cities have the advantage in such a survey. Just the reverse is true.[1] The average rating for the different size groups is as follows:

[1] See Table IV on p. 95.

Group I.	Cities over 500,000	82.09
Group II.	Cities from 300,000 to 500,000	79.76
Group III.	Cities from 100,000 to 300,000	78.13
Group IV.	Cities from 50,000 to 100,000	77.92
Group V.	Cities from 30,000 to 50,000	77.97

The average for the entire country was 78.49 and the range for the country was from 66.39 to 86.68.

A strong geographical relationship is also apparent from an inspection of the results, with the odds greatly in favor of the Pacific Coast cities and greatly against the Southern cities. Only one of the twelve Pacific Coast cities included falls below 82, and no city below the Mason and Dixon line with the single exception of Washington, reaches 80. The New England and Central cities range from very good to very bad.

The following table shows the average rating for all the cities in each state having three or more eligible cities.

State	No. cities	Rating	State	No. cities	Rating
California	8	84.56	Pennsylvania	12	77.92
Wisconsin	8	82.45	Michigan	9	77.86
Washington	3	81.63	Massachusetts	17	77.14
Iowa	5	81.09	Missouri	3	76.97
Ohio	12	81.08	Virginia	6	76.92
Connecticut	4	81.00	Illinois	5	76.30
New York	13	80.58	Colorado	3	75.95
Indiana	6	79.63	Florida	3	74.26
Minnesota	3	79.56	Texas	4	71.54
New Jersey	7	78.69	Tennessee	3	67.95

California leads with a phenomenal record. Massachusetts cities show greater extremes than those of any other state, ranging from 69.27 to 86.46.

It is interesting to compare the results with those obtained in some other surveys. A study made in 1917 by Reed College ranked 36 cities in 18 different categories: wage rates, cost of living, death rate (adjusted to population composition), infant mortality rates, percentage population married, percentage church membership, child labor, parks, pavements, fire loss, public properties, library circulation, school attendance, school property, teachers' salaries, pupils to a teacher, illiteracy, percentage of foreign-born speaking English. Although many of these results are not affected by the city government the findings may prove of interest. The comparative rank for the cities was as follows: Seattle, Salt Lake City (tied for first place), Denver, Los Angeles, Washington, Portland (Ore.), Minneapolis, Cincinnati, San Francisco, St. Paul, Omaha, Cleveland, Boston, Buffalo, St. Louis, Kansas City, Milwaukee, Newark, New York City, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Indianapolis, Louisville, Detroit, Springfield (Ill.), New Haven, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Memphis, Providence, New Orleans, Scranton, Jacksonville, Atlanta, Charleston (S. C.), Birmingham. "The significant facts are that all Western cities are in the first quarter, nearly all Southern cities are in the last quarter, and most cities of other sections are in the middle quarter." [2]

[2] Reed College, "A Statistical Study of American Cities by Students of Reed College," in *Reed College Record.* Social Service Series, Number 4, p. 3.

A map marked off to show the ranking of the states according to civilization is to be found in a recent business geography. Civilization is defined as meaning those characteristics which are generally recognized as of the highest value.[3] The map shows a high area reaching from New England to Kansas, a decline southward and westward and a high area on the Pacific Coast.

The effect of the form of government upon a city's grade is not so evident. One naturally wonders what effect Home Rule has upon a city's rating. The following states have Home Rule provisions applicable to all of their cities that are large enough to be included in this survey: California, Washington, Minnesota, Colorado, Oregon, Oklahoma, Michigan, Ohio, Nebraska, Texas, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York and Wisconsin. In Missouri the cities of St. Louis and Kansas City are entitled to Home Rule. The average rating for all cities enjoying such provisions was 79.94; for those without such privileges it was 76.90. But before any significance can be attached to these figures it is well to take some other considerations into account. The term "Home Rule" is a very flexible one and means quite different things in different states. For example, the statement has been made that "Of the states permitting cities to draft their own 'home rule' charter none is more liberal than Ohio."[4] But Home Rule

[3] Ellsworth Huntington, and Frank E. Williams, *Business Geography,* pp. 73-74.

[4] Frank A. Magruder, *American Government,* p. 376.

in Ohio does not apply to taxes and debts. Moreover, the states of Pennsylvania, New York and Wisconsin did not adopt Home Rule provisions until 1922, 1923 and 1924 respectively, which was too late to have any appreciable effect on the grades of the cities in this survey.

The average rating for the 33 city manager cities included in the survey was 78.75; for the remaining cities it was 75.96. As the city manager cities were rather equally distributed among the cities of different size groups, their respective populations could not have affected these results.

The fourth factor to be considered is the effect of governmental costs upon the service rating. Is the additional service being received by citizens of the highest ranking cities attended by proportionately increased costs, or is it due to greater efficiency and greater natural advantages; or, is there perhaps some combination of all three? A comparison of per capita governmental costs and the service rating should throw some light on this point, but it should be constantly borne in mind that although the best figures obtainable are used and all of the computations carried out to exact points, the results can only be used to point the way to general conclusions and must not be slavishly accepted in the case of particular cities. The procedure is somewhat analogous to measuring a winding stream by means of a straight line drawn between the mouth and the source. Although the line may miss the stream at the majority of points it will show the general

direction and indicate the lay of the land. The many variations in financial procedure and accounting and the acknowledged weakness of the rating system provide the vagaries which make exact determination out of the question. The rule followed throughout the study has been to use precision and exactitude in arriving at results, but to refrain from attaching too precise significance to them when obtained.

An inspection of the results indicated that there was a decided relationship between the cost of government and the service rendered. It was necessary to divide the cities into four groups according to size, as per capita costs of government increase rapidly as the population increases. The census grouping was followed here, as elsewhere in the study, except that groups I and II had to be combined because of the small number in each. The cities in each group were arranged according to their average per capita departmental expenditures for the five years, 1923 to 1927. The average rating was then taken for all of the cities falling within certain cost limits. Table V shows the comparative costs and rating for the individual cities. Table VI summarizes this information and shows the average rating by cost groups.

The cost figures used in the following tables are taken from Table 13 of Financial Statistics of Cities and represent per capita costs for the operation and maintenance of general departments. Outlays and interest and sinking fund charges are not included.

TABLE V—COMPARISON OF SERVICE RATING AND PER CAPITA DEPARTMENTAL COSTS (AVERAGE FOR FIVE YEARS 1923-27)
Groups I and II. Cities over 300,000

Cost groups	City [5]	Per capita costs	Service rating	Average rating for cost groups
Under $30.00	Louisville	$24.77	73.58	73.77
	New Orleans	26.87	73.96	
$30.00–35.00	Toledo	30.94	82.58	81.39
	Baltimore	31.35	79.75	
	Indianapolis	34.00	81.53	
	St. Louis	34.18	81.72	
$35.00–40.00	Philadelphia	38.25	81.06	81.99
	Cleveland	38.69	84.08	
	Minneapolis	39.03	83.54	
	San Francisco	39.50	85.51	
	Kansas City, Mo.	39.94	75.77	
$40.00–45.00	Cincinnati	40.47	80.66	81.46
	Chicago	40.53	80.19	
	Detroit	42.40	79.02	
	Milwaukee	42.53	85.04	
	Washington	44.73	82.43	
$45.00–50.00	Pittsburgh	47.58	79.85	81.92
	Rochester	49.53	83.97	
Over $50.00	New York	50.34	83.70	81.05
	Newark	50.93	76.71	
	Buffalo	50.96	83.50	
	Boston	57.42	80.30	

[5] Per capita figures not obtainable for Seattle and Los Angeles.

TABLE V—COMPARISON OF SERVICE RATING AND PER CAPITA DEPARTMENTAL COSTS (AVERAGE FOR FIVE YEARS 1923-27)

Group III. Cities from 100,000-300,000

Cost groups	City [6]	Per capita costs	Service rating	Average rating for cost groups
	Fort Worth	$20.20	67.53	
	San Antonio	20.44	71.81	
	Nashville	20.63	66.39	
	Wilmington, Del.	22.02	84.34	
Under $25.00	Canton	22.65	80.21	74.52
	Kansas City, Kan.	22.75	73.85	
	Norfolk	23.75	78.65	
	Knoxville	23.76	67.08	
	Youngstown	24.15	80.87	
	Tampa	25.05	70.33	
	Columbus, Ohio	25.55	80.62	
	Fort Wayne	25.93	84.30	
	Dallas	26.49	72.55	
	Flint	26.75	76.23	
	Dayton, Ohio	26.80	80.82	
$25.00-30.00	Richmond	27.23	77.17	77.34
	Tacoma	27.37	82.50	
	Somerville	27.70	74.54	
	Salt Lake City	27.90	76.54	
	Memphis	28.03	70.40	
	Scranton	28.12	76.49	
	Omaha	29.67	83.00	
	Camden	30.07	78.66	
	Duluth	30.36	74.14	
	Spokane	30.56	77.09	
	St. Paul	31.76	81.02	
	Utica	31.90	82.87	
$30.00-35.00	Des Moines	32.69	80.99	79.39
	New Haven	32.72	82.04	
	Oakland	32.74	84.35	
	Providence	33.16	79.65	
	Lynn	33.16	71.72	
	Grand Rapids	33.42	81.72	
	Trenton	33.78	78.53	
	San Diego	35.98	84.70	
	Lowell	36.92	71.75	
	Syracuse	37.86	83.13	
$35.00-40.00	Denver	38.05	77.49	78.02
	Fall River	38.70	71.89	
	Cambridge	39.19	75.13	
	Hartford	39.74	82.09	
$40.00-45.00	New Bedford	41.36	81.15	83.02
	Long Beach	44.64	84.87	
	Springfield, Mass.	48.33	86.46	
Over $45.00	Yonkers	51.75	80.82	82.07
	Miami	53.24	78.94	

[6] Per capita figures not obtainable for Oklahoma City, Elizabeth, Jacksonville, Bridgeport, Houston, Portland (Ore.), and Akron.

TABLE V—COMPARISON OF SERVICE RATING AND PER CAPITA DEPARTMENTAL COSTS (AVERAGE FOR FIVE YEARS 1923-27)
Group IV. Cities from 50,000 to 100,000

Cost groups	City	Per capita costs	Service rating	Average rating for cost groups
Under $20.00	Newport News	$17.80	79.69	73.96
	Savannah	17.93	75.45	
	Allentown	18.98	73.16	
	Winston-Salem	19.45	69.70	
	East St. Louis	19.73	70.39	
	Bethlehem	19.83	75.41	
$20.00–25.00	Springfield, Ohio	20.07	74.47	74.98
	Altoona	20.55	81.18	
	Springfield, Mo.	20.57	73.43	
	Charleston, S. C.	21.53	69.13	
	Roanoke	22.60	74.66	
	Shreveport	23.00	70.06	
	Jackson	23.22	73.98	
	Charleston, W. Va.	23.83	76.03	
	Racine	24.95	81.90	
$25.00–30.00	Cedar Rapids	25.25	78.16	78.95
	Pawtucket	25.32	69.37	
	Topeka	25.37	79.42	
	Wichita	25.71	80.13	
	Peoria	25.74	72.88	
	Rockford	25.88	82.55	
	Harrisburg	26.40	79.80	
	Wilkes-Barre	26.76	81.77	
	Terre Haute	27.06	82.15	
	Kalamazoo	27.97	79.84	
	Lansing	28.06	80.64	
	Lincoln	28.11	81.82	
	New Britain	28.28	74.66	
	Sioux City	28.39	78.12	
	Pontiac	29.04	76.58	
	Davenport	29.61	85.45	
$30.00–35.00	South Bend	30.10	79.36	79.18
	Kenosha	30.49	82.86	
	Portland, Me.	34.54	75.33	
$35.00–40.00	East Orange	35.74	84.04	81.06
	Brockton	35.84	76.20	
	Passaic	35.97	79.15	
	Berkeley	36.40	86.68	
	Niagara Falls	38.16	79.25	
Over $40.00	Holyoke	41.65	79.31	82.59
	Sacramento	43.41	82.34	
	Newton	55.81	86.13	

TABLE V—COMPARISON OF SERVICE RATING AND PER CAPITA DEPARTMENTAL COSTS (AVERAGE FOR FIVE YEARS 1923-27)

Group V. Cities from 30,000 to 50,000

Cost groups	City	Per capita costs	Service rating	Average rating for cost groups
Under $20.00	Norristown	$16.55	75.35	77.70
	Petersburg	19.18	73.56	
	Lima	19.61	84.20	
$20.00–25.00	Quincy, Ill.	20.97	75.55	76.15
	York	21.02	78.03	
	Hamilton	21.11	78.63	
	Hazleton	21.58	75.46	
	Muncie	21.66	79.10	
	Lexington	23.66	69.43	
	Ogden	24.66	76.88	
$25.00–30.00	Lorain	25.26	82.72	77.66
	Pueblo	25.61	71.43	
	Waterloo	26.23	82.75	
	Easton	26.70	77.49	
	East Chicago	27.03	71.35	
	Bay City	27.44	71.56	
	Amsterdam	27.64	74.33	
	Muskegon	28.11	81.27	
	Auburn	28.28	78.63	
	Green Bay	28.29	84.96	
	Lynchburg	28.88	77.82	
$30.00–35.00	Pittsfield	30.21	76.54	79.31
	Sheboygan	30.40	85.29	
	Elmira	31.03	74.63	
	La Crosse	31.47	78.15	
	Poughkeepsie	31.92	83.76	
	Watertown	32.13	78.55	
	New Brunswick	33.52	79.25	
	Superior	33.59	80.03	
	Jamestown	33.64	80.51	
	Oshkosh	33.89	81.40	
	Haverhill	34.05	74.32	
Over $35.00	Waltham	36.02	80.41	78.30
	Stockton	36.34	84.95	
	Salem	36.90	76.17	
	Colorado Springs	37.00	78.95	
	Fitchburg	37.23	80.23	
	Everett	37.84	69.27	

An average was taken for the five years from 1923 to 1927, inclusive, as these are the principal years covered by the rating.

The relationship found in each of the groups indicates that generally speaking, good government is accompanied by high costs. An interesting observation is that the relationship between costs and rating seems more pronounced in cities of the lower cost brackets than in those with higher costs. This indicates that only in very exceptional cases can we

TABLE VI—AVERAGE SERVICE RATING FOR COST GROUPS

Cost groups	Groups I and II	Group III	Group IV	Group V
Under $20.00	.....	.....	73.96	77.70
$20.00–25.00	.....	74.52	74.98	76.15
$25.00–30.00	73.77	77.34	78.95	77.66
$30.00–35.00	81.39	79.39	79.18	79.31
$35.00–40.00	81.99	78.02	81.06	78.30
$40.00–45.00	81.46	83.02	82.59	.....
$45.00–50.00	81.92	82.07	.....	.....
Over $50.00	81.05	.....	.....	.....

expect to find a high service rating in conjunction with low governmental costs. High costs, however, are not so uniformly attended by a high rating. Apparently, liberal spending is not sufficient of itself to secure good government. More reliable statistics might possibly have shown a higher degree of relationship with costs, but the results actually achieved can hardly be attributed to mere chance.

A comparison of the per capita wealth [7] and service rating also shows some correspondence. Table VII

[7] See below, ch. vi, pp. 143-145, for discussion of basis by which wealth is measured.

TABLE VII—COMPARISON OF SERVICE RATING AND PER CAPITA WEALTH
(ESTIMATED TRUE VALUE OF REAL PROPERTY)
Groups I and II. Cities over 300,000

Wealth groups	City [8]	Per capita wealth	Service rating	Average rating for wealth groups
Under $1500	New Orleans	$994.39	73.96	78.67
	Kansas City, Mo.	1,136.46	75.77	
	Louisville	1,207.89	73.58	
	Indianapolis	1,243.46	81.53	
	Newark	1,392.92	76.71	
	Cleveland	1,471.60	84.08	
	Minneapolis	1,485.73	83.54	
	Chicago	1,495.12	80.19	
$1500–$2000	Baltimore	1,593.11	79.75	81.63
	Philadelphia	1,633.47	81.06	
	St. Louis	1,651.34	81.72	
	Toledo	1,698.69	82.58	
	Washington	1,772.22	82.43	
	Cincinnati	1,836.10	80.66	
	Milwaukee	1,870.14	85.04	
	Pittsburgh	1,960.21	79.85	
Over $2000	Rochester	2,009.50	83.97	82.66
	Detroit	2,117.58	79.02	
	Boston	2,221.82	80.30	
	San Francisco	2,221.85	85.51	
	Buffalo	2,270.58	83.50	
	New York	2,588.65	83.70	

[8] Per capita figures not obtainable for Seattle and Los Angeles.

TABLE VII—COMPARISON OF SERVICE RATING AND PER CAPITA WEALTH
(ESTIMATED TRUE VALUE OF REAL PROPERTY)
Group III. Cities from 100,000 to 300,000

Wealth groups	City [9]	Per capita wealth	Service rating	Average rating for wealth groups
Under $1000	Kansas City, Kan.	$781.23	73.85	72.03
	Flint	916.78	76.23	
	Fall River	965.72	71.89	
	Nashville	969.60	66.39	
	San Antonio	998.31	71.81	
$1000–1500	Lowell	1,009.84	71.75	77.13
	Wilmington, Del.	1,016.24	84.34	
	Somerville	1,039.94	74.54	
	Salt Lake City	1,042.19	76.54	
	Memphis	1,052.45	70.40	
	Denver	1,063.21	77.49	
	Tacoma	1,066.09	82.50	
	Lynn	1,082.27	71.72	
	Grand Rapids	1,162.57	81.72	
	Spokane	1,185.05	77.09	
	Camden	1,213.89	78.66	
	New Bedford	1,222.60	81.15	
	Cambridge	1,254.71	75.13	
	Norfolk	1,274.96	78.65	
	Knoxville	1,312.44	67.08	
	Duluth	1,348.92	74.14	
	Fort Worth	1,367.74	67.53	
	Providence	1,378.49	79.65	
	Dayton, Ohio	1,429.27	80.82	
	St. Paul	1,470.58	81.02	
	New Haven	1,472.35	82.04	
	Omaha	1,475.29	88.00	
$1500–2000	Columbus, Ohio	1,532.81	80.62	81.65
	Oakland	1,533.86	84.35	
	Des Moines	1,543.28	80.99	
	Fort Wayne	1,603.42	84.30	
	San Diego	1,616.19	84.70	
	Trenton	1,617.32	78.53	
	Richmond	1,660.14	77.17	
	Scranton	1,753.31	76.49	
	Springfield, Mass.	1,891.16	86.46	
	Utica	1,893.05	82.87	
	Syracuse	1,941.52	83.13	
	Canton	1,999.87	80.21	
$2000–2500	Youngstown	2,043.06	80.87	77.72
	Hartford	2,240.23	82.09	
	Tampa	2,274.71	70.33	
Over $2500	Yonkers	2,561.80	80.82	79.29
	Dallas	2,583.44	72.55	
	Long Beach	2,932.71	84.87	
	Miami	4,857.72	78.94	

[9] Per capita figures not obtainable for Oklahoma City, Elizabeth, Jacksonville, Bridgeport, Houston, Portland (Ore.), and Akron.

TABLE VII—COMPARISON OF SERVICE RATING AND PER CAPITA WEALTH
(ESTIMATED TRUE VALUE OF REAL PROPERTY)
Group IV. Cities from 50,000 to 100,000

Wealth groups	City	Per capita wealth	Service rating	Average rating for wealth groups
Under $1000	East St. Louis	$450.36	70.39	74.46
	Charleston, S. C.	544.01	69.13	
	Peoria	748.18	72.88	
	Newport News	759.48	79.69	
	Terre Haute	839.75	82.15	
	Pontiac	847.43	76.58	
	Springfield, Mo.	858.97	73.43	
	Winston-Salem	896.26	69.70	
	Brockton	979.64	76.20	
$1000–1500	Rockford	1,023.58	82.55	77.74
	Sioux City	1,072.39	78.12	
	Springfield, Ohio	1,089.85	74.47	
	Topeka	1,097.79	79.42	
	Savannah	1,122.80	75.45	
	Jackson	1,125.70	73.98	
	Pawtucket	1,164.75	69.37	
	Kalamazoo	1,271.81	79.84	
	Altoona	1,291.37	81.18	
	Wichita	1,336.28	80.13	
	Harrisburg	1,351.96	79.80	
	Cedar Rapids	1,435.58	78.16	
	Portland, Me.	1,483.46	75.33	
	Lansing	1,487.92	80.64	
$1500–2000	New Britain	1,527.44	74.66	79.90
	Holyoke	1,534.52	79.31	
	Davenport	1,536.52	85.45	
	Lincoln	1,573.71	81.82	
	East Orange	1,593.98	84.04	
	Racine	1,629.22	81.90	
	Bethlehem	1,658.91	75.41	
	Sacramento	1,679.30	82.34	
	Wilkes-Barre	1,680.54	81.77	
	Kenosha	1,711.80	82.86	
	Passaic	1,716.47	79.15	
	Shreveport	1,746.85	70.06	
	Allentown	1,851.98	73.16	
	Berkeley	1,926.12	86.68	
$2000–2500	Niagara Falls	2,031.99	79.25	79.08
	Newton	2,151.12	86.13	
	South Bend	2,201.34	79.36	
	Roanoke	2,333.75	74.66	
	Charleston, W. Va.	2,582.93	76.03	

TABLE VII—COMPARISON OF SERVICE RATING AND PER CAPITA WEALTH
(ESTIMATED TRUE VALUE OF REAL PROPERTY)
Group V. Cities from 30,000 to 50,000

Wealth groups	City	Per capita wealth	Service rating	Average rating for wealth groups
Under $1000	Pueblo	$602.75	71.43	75.88
	Ogden	688.61	76.88	
	Bay City	771.39	71.56	
	Waterloo	911.94	82.75	
	Petersburg	962.88	73.56	
	Muncie	983.05	79.10	
$1000–1500	Pittsfield	1,005.95	76.54	76.83
	Muskegon	1,012.33	81.27	
	Elmira	1,023.96	74.63	
	Fitchburg	1,039.90	80.23	
	Salem	1,055.41	76.17	
	Quincy, Ill.	1,113.58	75.55	
	Stockton	1,142.02	84.95	
	East Chicago	1,147.11	71.35	
	Haverhill	1,152.68	74.32	
	Waltham	1,216.77	80.41	
	Everett	1,247.76	69.27	
	Colorado Springs	1,370.89	78.95	
	Lexington	1,380.23	69.43	
	La Crosse	1,423.74	78.15	
	Hazleton	1,449.24	75.46	
	Amsterdam	1,472.05	74.33	
	Superior	1,480.30	80.03	
	New Brunswick	1,482.57	79.25	
	Lynchburg	1,488.83	77.82	
	Watertown	1,496.98	78.55	
Over $1500	Green Bay	1,518.57	84.96	80.91
	Oshkosh	1,522.19	81.40	
	Jamestown	1,536.02	80.51	
	Auburn	1,536.38	78.63	
	Lima	1,597.09	84.20	
	Lorain	1,609.99	82.72	
	Poughkeepsie	1,645.17	83.76	
	Hamilton	1,683.10	78.63	
	Sheboygan	1,808.76	85.29	
	Norristown	1,961.38	75.35	
	York	2,101.18	78.03	
	Easton	2,190.50	77.49	

shows the comparative wealth and rating of the individual cities. Table VIII gives the average rating for wealth groups.

Practically the same observations can be made here as in the case of Table VI. The average service rating for cities with greater per capita wealth tends to be higher than for those in the lower wealth brackets. Likewise the tendency is more pronounced in the first three class intervals. The cities with very

TABLE VIII—AVERAGE SERVICE RATING FOR WEALTH GROUPS

Wealth groups	Groups I and II	Group III	Group IV	Group V
Under $1000	.....	72.03	74.46	75.88
$1000–1500	78.67	77.13	77.74	76.83
$1500–2000	81.63	81.65	79.90	80.91
$2000–2500	82.66	77.72	79.08	.....
Over $2500	.....	79.29	.....	.....

low per capita wealth seem to be at a disadvantage. However, the cities with exceptionally high per capita wealth do not appear to possess a like advantage. This may be due somewhat to the unreliability of the wealth figures themselves. For example, Miami's exceptional per capita wealth is probably largely due to the fact that a great deal of outlying territory has been incorporated into the city.

One more comparison needs to be made. Is there any connection between the per capita costs of government and the per capita wealth of the city? In

TABLE IX—COMPARISON OF PER CAPITA WEALTH AND PER CAPITA COSTS OF GOVERNMENT

Groups I and II. Cities over 300,000

Wealth groups	City	Per capita wealth	Per capita costs	Average per capita costs for wealth groups
	New Orleans	$994.39	$26.87	
	Kansas City, Mo.	1,136.46	39.94	
	Louisville	1,207.89	24.77	
	Indianapolis	1,243.46	34.00	
Under $1500	Newark	1,392.92	50.93	$36.84
	Cleveland	1,471.60	38.69	
	Minneapolis	1,485.73	39.03	
	Chicago	1,495.12	40.53	
	Baltimore	1,593.11	31.35	
	Philadelphia	1,633.47	38.25	
	St. Louis	1,651.34	34.18	
	Toledo	1,698.69	30.94	
$1500–$2000	Washington	1,772.22	44.73	38.75
	Cincinnati	1,836.10	40.47	
	Milwaukee	1,870.14	42.53	
	Pittsburgh	1,960.21	47.58	
	Rochester	2,009.50	49.53	
	Detroit	2,117.58	42.40	
	Boston	2,221.82	57.42	
Over $2000	San Francisco	2,221.85	39.50	48.35
	Buffalo	2,270.58	50.96	
	New York	2,588.65	50.34	

TABLE IX—COMPARISON OF PER CAPITA WEALTH AND PER CAPITA COSTS OF GOVERNMENT

Group III. Cities from 100,000 to 300,000

Wealth groups	City	Per capita wealth	Per capita costs	Average per capita costs for wealth groups
	Kansas City, Kan.	$781.23	$22.75	
	Flint	916.78	26.75	
Under $1000	Fall River	965.72	38.70	$25.85
	Nashville	969.60	20.63	
	San Antonio	998.31	20.44	
	Lowell	1,009.84	36.92	
	Wilmington, Del.	1,016.24	22.02	
	Somerville	1,039.94	27.70	
	Salt Lake City	1,042.19	27.90	
	Memphis	1,052.45	28.03	
	Denver	1,063.21	38.05	
	Tacoma	1,066.09	27.37	
	Lynn	1,082.27	33.16	
	Grand Rapids	1,162.57	33.42	
	Spokane	1,185.05	30.56	
	Camden	1,213.89	30.07	
$1000–1500	New Bedford	1,222.60	41.36	30.36
	Cambridge	1,254.71	39.19	
	Norfolk	1,274.96	23.75	
	Knoxville	1,312.44	23.76	
	Duluth	1,348.92	30.36	
	Fort Worth	1,367.74	20.20	
	Providence	1,378.49	33.16	
	Dayton, Ohio	1,429.27	26.80	
	St. Paul	1,470.58	31.76	
	New Haven	1,472.35	32.72	
	Omaha	1,475.29	29.67	
	Columbus, Ohio	1,532.81	25.55	
	Oakland	1,533.86	32.74	
	Des Moines	1,543.28	32.69	
	Fort Wayne	1,603.42	25.93	
	San Diego	1,616.19	35.98	
	Trenton	1,617.32	33.78	
$1500–2000	Richmond	1,660.14	27.23	31.89
	Scranton	1,753.31	28.12	
	Springfield, Mass.	1,891.16	48.33	
	Utica	1,893.05	31.90	
	Syracuse	1,941.52	37.86	
	Canton	1,999.87	22.65	
	Youngstown	2,043.06	24.15	
$2000–2500	Hartford	2,240.23	39.74	29.64
	Tampa	2,274.71	25.05	
	Yonkers	2,561.80	51.75	
	Dallas	2,583.44	26.49	
Over $2500	Long Beach	2,932.71	44.64	49.03
	Miami	4,857.72	53.24	

TABLE IX—COMPARISON OF PER CAPITA WEALTH AND PER CAPITA COSTS OF GOVERNMENT

Group IV. Cities from 50,000 to 100,000

Wealth groups	City	Per capita wealth	Per capita costs	Average per capita costs for wealth groups
	East St. Louis	$450.36	$19.73	
	Charleston, S. C.	544.01	21.53	
	Peoria	748.18	25.74	
	Newport News	759.48	17.80	
	Terre Haute	839.75	27.06	
Under $1000	Pontiac	847.43	29.04	$24.08
	Springfield, Mo.	858.97	20.57	
	Winston-Salem	896.26	19.45	
	Brockton	979.64	35.84	
	Rockford	1,023.58	25.88	
	Sioux City	1,072.39	28.39	
	Springfield, Ohio	1,089.85	20.07	
	Topeka	1,097.79	25.37	
	Savannah	1,122.80	17.93	
	Jackson	1,125.70	23.22	
	Pawtucket	1,164.75	25.32	
$1000–1500	Kalamazoo	1,271.81	27.97	25.33
	Altoona	1,291.37	20.55	
	Wichita	1,336.28	25.71	
	Harrisburg	1,351.96	26.40	
	Cedar Rapids	1,435.58	25.25	
	Portland, Me.	1,483.46	34.54	
	Lansing	1,487.92	28.06	
	New Britain	1,527.44	28.28	
	Holyoke	1,534.52	41.65	
	Davenport	1,536.52	29.61	
	Lincoln	1,573.71	28.11	
	East Orange	1,593.98	35.74	
	Racine	1,629.22	24.95	
	Bethlehem	1,658.91	19.83	
$1500–2000	Sacramento	1,679.30	43.41	30.22
	Wilkes-Barre	1,680.54	26.76	
	Kenosha	1,711.80	30.49	
	Passaic	1,716.47	35.97	
	Shreveport	1,746.85	23.00	
	Allentown	1,851.98	18.98	
	Berkeley	1,926.12	36.40	
	Niagara Falls	2,031.99	38.16	
	Newton	2,151.12	55.81	
Over $2000	South Bend	2,201.34	30.10	34.10
	Roanoke	2,333.75	22.60	
	Charleston, W. Va.	2,582.93	23.83	

TABLE IX—COMPARISON OF PER CAPITA WEALTH AND PER CAPITA COSTS OF GOVERNMENT

Group V. Cities from 30,000 to 50,000

Wealth groups	City	Per capita wealth	Per capita costs	Average per capita costs for wealth groups
	Pueblo	$602.75	$25.61	
	Ogden	688.61	24.66	
	Bay City	771.39	27.44	
Under $1000	Waterloo	911.94	26.23	$24.13
	Petersburg	962.88	19.18	
	Muncie	983.05	21.66	
	Pittsfield	1,005.95	30.21	
	Muskegon	1,012.33	28.11	
	Elmira	1,023.96	31.03	
	Fitchburg	1,039.90	37.23	
	Salem	1,055.41	36.90	
	Quincy, Ill.	1,113.58	20.97	
	Stockton	1,142.02	36.34	
	East Chicago	1,147.11	27.03	
	Haverhill	1,152.68	34.05	
	Waltham	1,216.77	36.02	
$1000–1500	Everett	1,247.76	37.84	31.26
	Colorado Springs	1,370.89	37.00	
	Lexington	1,380.23	23.66	
	La Crosse	1,423.74	31.47	
	Hazleton	1,449.24	21.58	
	Amsterdam	1,472.05	27.64	
	Superior	1,480.30	33.59	
	New Brunswick	1,482.57	33.52	
	Lynchburg	1,488.83	28.88	
	Watertown	1,496.98	32.13	
	Green Bay	1,518.57	28.29	
	Oshkosh	1,522.19	33.89	
	Jamestown	1,536.02	33.64	
	Auburn	1,536.38	28.28	
	Lima	1,597.09	19.61	
	Lorain	1,609.99	25.26	
Over $1500	Poughkeepsie	1,645.17	31.92	26.39
	Hamilton	1,683.10	21.11	
	Sheboygan	1,808.76	30.40	
	Norristown	1,961.38	16.55	
	York	2,101.18	21.02	
	Easton	2,190.50	26.70	

Tables IX and X we see evinced a somewhat stronger correspondence between the two variables than is evident in the preceding tables.

There is thus a relationship between all three of the factors of service, wealth and costs, but not a very strong one. There is a tendency for wealthy cities to have high governmental costs and a high service rating, but it is by no means irresistible and cities may be found which are low in one of the three respects and high in the other two, or vice versa.

TABLE X—AVERAGE PER CAPITA COSTS FOR WEALTH GROUPS

Wealth groups	Groups I and II	Group III	Group IV	Group V
Under $1000	.....	$25.85	$24.08	$24.13
$1000–1500	$36.84	30.36	25.33	31.26
$1500–2000	38.75	31.89	30.22	26.39
$2000–2500	48.35	29.64	34.10	.....
Over $2500	.....	49.03	.....	.....

Or there may be a combination of medium and high or low places, as well as those that are uniformly high or low with regard to all three variables.

If city administration were uniformly efficient and honest and if cost differentials due to local handicaps arising from geographical or population factors could be wiped out then we should except to see perfect correlation over a long period of time between costs and service. However, local variations can never be eliminated although, to a certain extent, they can be recognized and allowance made for them. Widely diffused information based on

adequate statistics would do a great deal toward correcting inefficiency and dishonesty. The public must adopt the attitude of the stern parent who, upon glancing down a report card and seeing a long array of D's, peremptorily demands that the grades be improved and prepares to back up his demand with action if necessary.[8]

When the public demand for service becomes articulate and informed, there will be found a new dignity in city government. The old back-slapping, "friend of the people" type of politician will be forced out and the less spectacular but more businesslike official will come into prominence.

If Springfield, Massachusetts, and Berkeley, California, have unusually high costs of government, they can also pride themselves upon their records of achievement, but Everett, Massachusetts, certainly needs to have an alibi ready to show why its cost of government is the highest and its service rating the lowest of all the cities of its class. This city shows the most startling discrepancy between results and costs in the entire country. Wilmington, Delaware, presents the opposite extreme, although not to such a marked extent. How much of the latter may be due to the fact that a large part of the burden of community enterprises is borne by philanthropists within the city is a subject for consideration.

[8] "The per capita governmental cost provides a workable criterion of the burden of public services. . . . Conspicuous differences should prove the occasion for inquiry, but should not mean instant condemnation." Jens P. Jensen, *Problems of Public Finance*, p. 33.

Quite a number of cities show relatively the same rank in costs that they do in service. Louisville, New Orleans, Newton and Springfield (Massachusetts) are examples of this type.

Per capita wealth might have its effect on the rating other than through ability to meet a high cost of government. For example, health and educational standards would tend to be higher in a prosperous community than in a poorer one, even though no more revenue was appropriated to these functions in the former. Infant mortality and general death rates are higher in more impoverished communities. When to this consideration is added the further one that wealthy cities can afford higher governmental costs, it seems obvious that municipal standards will be directly affected by the per capita wealth of the community.

CHAPTER VI

Tendencies in Budget Distribution

This abnormal increase of the municipal estimate is not confined to Osaka alone, but it is also the case with other cities, and they are all suffering from the financial difficulties to some extent. This seems, however, to be the common lot of all progressive cities, and they have to face it bravely, so long as they aspire to be the ideal cities in the fullest sense of the term.—Osaka Municipal Office.

The crux of the problem of scientific budget distribution has now been reached. The study has proceeded on the assumption that if the average budget distribution could be taken in the cities with the highest standards of service, it is plausible to assume that the budget would be more nicely proportioned than in the average for the low grade cities or for the entire number. By averaging several cities instead of accepting one or two as a standard it becomes possible to iron out differences due to local aberrations. Due to tradition one city may be accenting its cultural life, while another may be concentrating on highways and public buildings. It is impossible to assign limits arbitrarily for each function. By taking the average for several cities of markedly high standards of service, we can set up something of a crude pattern for guidance.

First, however, it is necessary to recognize that the cities are not homogeneous. Other variables may

be found powerful enough to neutralize the results if the cities are taken *en masse*. If another factor, such as size, for example, should be found to exert an opposite influence on some functional appropriation, the two tendencies would tend to cancel each other. The most important and universal of these influences appear to be time, size, wealth and costs of government. Until variations due to them, if any, are eliminated, it would be useless to proceed further.

Time, obviously, would have a decided effect. Tastes in public expenditure as well as in private consumption, are constantly undergoing change. Some of our most cherished municipal functions were not recognized as governmental obligations 100 years ago. Libraries, art museums and child clinics are notable examples. The gradual assumption of an increasing number of civic responsibilities is illustrated in Professor Jacob H. Hollander's book on *The Financial History of Baltimore*.[1] During the first 20 years of its corporate life (1729-1749), "Roads and highways, watching and lighting, administration, wharves and harbor, continued the primary objects of local expenditure, in much the order named." "A system of municipal sewerage was unknown." A direct grant for fire protection was not made until 1800. In 1801, what was apparently the first appropriation for health was made. "No

[1] Jacob H. Hollander, *The Financial History of Baltimore*, pp. 55-69, 128, 245.

district municipal agency for purposes of poor relief " existed until 1818. In 1826 the city was first given the power to levy taxes for the establishment and support of a Baltimore school system. Provision for systematic acquisition and maintenance of park areas was not made until 1856. Library support did not come until much later and the city has hardly yet fully accepted responsibility for a public art museum. With slight local variations this probably affords a typical example of functional development in American cities. Highway maintenance, police protection and street lighting were the first felt needs. Responsibility for the protection of health, for charities, schools, sewerage, fire protection, parks, libraries and museums was accepted in somewhat the order named.

Unfortunately, comparable statistics on the relative emphasis periodically given to these functions cannot be had further back than the beginning of this century. We know the broad general outlines of functional development up to 1900, but it is only since the United States Bureau of the Census commenced the annual publication of *Financial Statistics of Cities,* about the beginning of the century, that we can subject it to statistical measurement.

The census classification of governmental functions, used in *Financial Statistics of Cities,* was followed throughout in the study of appropriations and it was from this source also that the statistics used in this chapter were obtained, except, of course, that

the service rating was arrived at as explained in Chapter Four.

A chart of budget distribution for all cities of over 30,000, plotted for the years from 1905 to 1928 shows some very striking developments. Most important is the upward climb of school appropriations, rising from 28.7% of the budget in 1905 to 37.9% in 1924. Curiously enough, there was a slight recession for the years from 1925 to 1927. Next in importance is the downward sweep of police appropriations,[2] falling from 14.1% in 1905 to 10.2% in 1924. Here also a reaction set in at that time and a gradual rise was apparent from 1925 to 1927. Appropriations for general expenditures, fire protection and highways show a rather pronounced downward tendency, while miscellaneous appropriations are climbing rapidly. Health expenditures show a gradual rise. Sanitation, recreation and charities show no recognizable trends and library appropriations reveal a most amazing uniformity having hovered around 1.3% for the entire period of 24 years.

A particularly interesting development from the standpoint of this study is the peculiarly static quality of the distribution since 1922. School costs which had been rapidly mounting until that time, ceased to climb, remained stationary for two years, then gave way to a slight decline. Police costs which

[2] It must be borne in mind that throughout this chapter the reference is to relative and not to absolute amounts. The latter are almost without exception constantly increasing.

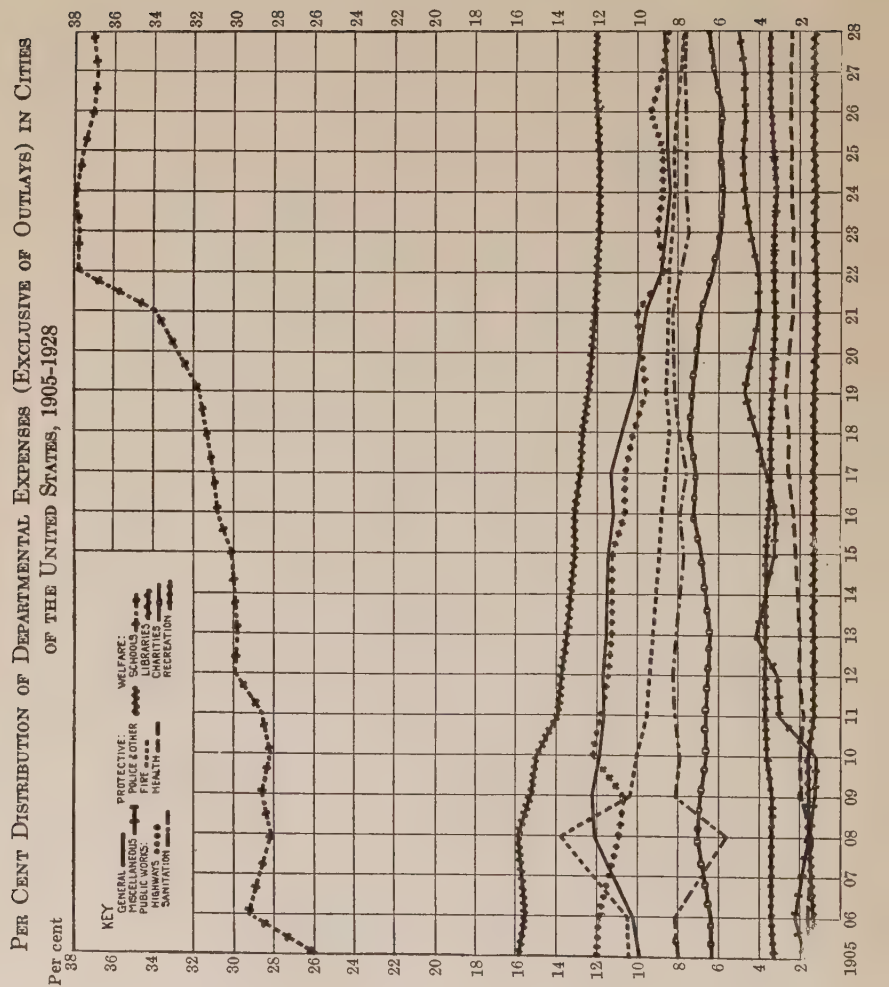
TABLE XI—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF DEPARTMENTAL EXPENSES (EXCLUSIVE OF OUTLAYS) IN CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

1905-1928

Year	General government	Police	Fire protection	Other protection	Health	Sanitation	Highways	Charities	Schools	Libraries	Recreation	Miscellaneous
1905 [a]	10.0	14.1	10.5	1.9	1.6	8.1	12.1	6.3	28.7	[c]1.3	3.3	1.8
1906	10.3	13.7	10.4	1.8	1.6	8.1	11.9	6.3	29.2	[c]1.3	3.4	2.0
1907 [b]	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
1908	12.1	13.4	10.3	1.8	1.8	8.2	10.9	7.0	28.1	[c]1.5	3.4	1.5
1909	12.2	13.4	10.3	1.8	1.9	8.1	10.6	6.9	28.5	[c]1.6	3.4	1.3
1910	11.9	13.1	10.0	1.8	2.0	7.9	12.2	6.6	28.1	[c]1.6	3.6	1.2
1911	11.7	12.0	9.5	1.9	1.9	8.1	11.8	6.6	28.5	1.3	3.7	3.0
1912	11.7	11.8	9.3	1.9	2.0	8.2	11.4	6.5	28.9	1.3	3.7	3.3
1913	11.6	11.6	9.2	1.9	2.0	8.1	11.5	6.4	28.8	1.3	3.7	4.1
1914 [b]	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
1915	11.3	11.2	8.9	1.9	2.2	7.9	11.3	6.8	30.1	1.3	3.7	3.3
1916	11.2	11.2	8.8	1.9	2.3	7.9	10.6	7.2	30.8	1.3	3.6	3.2
1917	11.3	10.9	8.6	1.9	2.5	7.6	10.6	7.1	31.0	1.3	3.5	3.6
1918	10.7	10.9	8.4	1.8	2.5	7.9	10.2	7.4	31.3	1.3	3.5	4.1
1919	10.2	10.7	8.6	1.7	2.7	8.1	9.6	7.3	31.7	1.3	3.4	4.7
1920 [b]	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
1921	9.6	10.4	8.5	1.7	2.3	8.3	10.0	6.9	33.9	1.2	3.3	4.0
1922	8.9	[d]...	[d]...	[d]...	[e]...	[e]...	8.7	6.3	37.7	1.2	3.3	4.0
1923	8.6	10.2	8.3	1.7	2.3	7.5	9.0	5.9	37.7	1.3	3.3	4.4
1924	8.4	10.2	8.2	1.7	2.4	7.6	8.7	5.8	37.9	1.2	3.2	4.7
1925	8.5	10.3	8.2	1.6	2.4	7.6	8.7	5.9	37.5	1.3	3.3	4.8
1926	8.5	10.4	8.0	1.6	2.4	7.6	9.3	5.8	37.0	1.3	3.4	4.7
1927	8.5	10.5	7.9	1.6	2.4	7.7	8.9	6.1	36.9	1.3	3.4	4.7
1928 [f]	8.6	10.4	7.7	1.6	2.4	7.6	8.5	6.4	37.1	1.3	3.4	5.0

[a] Census figures for 1905 readjusted to exclude interest.
[b] Figures not available for 1907, 1914 and 1920.
[c] Included art galleries and museums.
[e] Separate figures not given for police, fire and other protection.
[e] Separate figures not given for health and sanitation.
[f] 1928 figures available through courtesy of Bureau of the Census.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF DEPARTMENTAL EXPENSES (EXCLUSIVE OF OUTLAYS) IN CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES, 1905–1928



had been falling ceased to drop and remained on an almost horizontal line. Miscellaneous expenditures rose slightly for two years, then remained practically stationary. Some other functions fluctuated slightly but showed no real trends. Libraries continued, as usual, unchanged. Altogether, one might almost assume that after the rather violent changes of preceding years the functions were finding their level and sticking to it. It seems a rather hopeful sign—as though some new sense of balance and proportion were emerging from the uncertain performances of our city administrations.

This exploration into time trends serves to illustrate some of the broad general tendencies affecting the country as a whole and to emphasize the fact that it must be borne in mind that what is ideal budget distribution now will not be so ten years from now and probably not five years hence. We can eliminate the time variable from our study, however, by concentrating on the figures for one year, when we take up some of the other factors.

The size of the city would appear to be a second outstanding factor in influencing the budget distribution. We are handicapped in the study of this variable by the limited number of size groups and the very few cases in the upper brackets. To reach any very conclusive decision concerning the effect of size upon budget distribution it would be necessary to divide the cities into size groups by uniform gradations, but this is impossible owing to the relatively small number of very large cities.

If cities were grouped according to population with class intervals of 50,000, there would be approximately 120 size groups, but more than 80% of the cities would be in the three lowest groups. If a class interval of 100,000 were used, the number of groups would be cut in half, but 86% of the total number of cities would be found in the two lowest groups, and only three groups above them would include more than three cities.

In the face of these difficulties it was decided to follow the census classification which divides the cities into five groups as follows:

Group I.	Cities over	500,000	14 cities
Group II.	Cities from	300,000 to 500,000	11 cities
Group III.	Cities from	100,000 to 300,000	63 cities
Group IV.	Cities from	50,000 to 100,000	87 cities
Group V.	Cities from	30,000 to 50,000	75 cities

Even after following this arbitrary classification, Groups I and II, composed of only fourteen and eleven cities each, were very much underrepresented.

Table XII shows the average budget distribution of the cities of the United States by size groups, for the three years, 1925-1927, inclusive. There are two outstanding and clearly marked tendencies. The proportion of the budget devoted to education declines as the city grows, while that for police protection increases. Appropriations for general government, sanitation, charities and miscellaneous expenditures are irregular but as a rule they tend to increase with the size of the city. Likewise, highway appropriations show a decrease. Apparently, movements in

expenditures for fire protection reverse themselves at a certain stage. For example, fire costs increase with size until the city reaches a population of 100,000 to 300,000 after which these costs generally decrease. It seems impossible to draw any conclusions concerning the effect of the size of the city upon appropriations for health, libraries and recreation.

However, the effect of size, whatever it may be, can be largely eliminated in studying the other factors by considering each size group separately. Unfortunately, it is necessary to consider Groups I and II together because of the few cases in each. This is probably not as disastrous to the results as it appears, however, as an inspection of Table XII shows a closer affinity between the budget distribution of these two groups than between any two of the others.

It is generally supposed that wealth plays an important part in a city's finances. But there is much vagueness in the conception of wealth. Is the criterion to be real property alone, a combination of real and personal property, or income? Whichever is used, per capita rather than total figures are necessary in order that comparison may be made freely between a number of cities. Statistics on income are not available by cities, so this very desirable criterion has to be immediately eliminated.[3] The Census Bureau publishes annually per capita figures for a combination of real and personal property, corrected

[3] Only the total number of income tax returns by cities is published by the Treasury Department.

TABLE XII—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF DEPARTMENTAL EXPENSES (EXCLUSIVE OF OUTLAYS) IN CITIES GROUPED BY SIZE, 1925-1927

Function	Size group	1925	1926	1927	Tendency
General government ..	I	9.9	9.8	9.8	Increase (?)
	II	9.3	10.1	9.9	
	III	5.9	5.8	5.8	
	IV	6.1	6.0	5.9	
	V	6.4	6.5	6.2	
Police	I	11.4	11.6	11.7	Increase
	II	9.5	9.7	9.6	
	III	9.5	9.4	9.4	
	IV	8.7	8.7	8.8	
	V	7.8	7.7	7.7	
Fire protection	I	6.7	6.5	6.4	Increase up to Group III; decrease thereafter
	II	8.5	8.5	8.2	
	III	10.4	10.3	10.3	
	IV	10.0	9.8	10.0	
	V	10.0	9.7	9.7	
Other protection	I	1.9	1.8	1.9	Increase (?)
	II	2.0	1.9	1.8	
	III	1.2	1.2	1.2	
	IV	1.1	1.1	1.1	
	V	1.1	1.0	1.0	
Health	I	2.4	2.3	2.4	Uncertain
	II	3.1	3.4	3.3	
	III	2.6	2.5	2.5	
	IV	2.0	2.0	2.0	
	V	2.1	2.1	2.1	
Sanitation	I	8.4	8.3	8.5	Increase (?)
	II	7.0	6.6	6.4	
	III	6.6	6.7	6.9	
	IV	7.1	6.9	6.8	
	V	6.0	6.1	6.2	
Highways	I	8.2	9.1	8.7	Decrease (?)
	II	9.4	9.2	9.8	
	III	9.2	9.7	9.0	
	IV	9.0	8.9	8.7	
	V	10.5	10.3	10.3	
Charities	I	6.9	6.9	7.2	Increase (?)
	II	8.0	7.3	7.5	
	III	3.8	3.8	4.1	
	IV	3.4	3.5	3.6	
	V	3.6	3.8	3.9	
Schools	I	33.8	33.1	32.9	Decrease
	II	34.6	34.9	34.9	
	III	42.9	42.5	42.5	
	IV	44.8	45.3	45.6	
	V	45.3	45.0	44.9	
Libraries	I	1.1	1.2	1.2	Uncertain
	II	1.4	1.5	1.5	
	III	1.4	1.4	1.4	
	IV	1.5	1.5	1.5	
	V	1.4	1.4	1.4	
Recreation	I	3.3	3.6	3.6	Uncertain
	II	3.6	2.9	3.0	
	III	3.3	3.4	3.5	
	IV	3.2	3.3	3.1	
	V	2.8	3.1	3.2	
Miscellaneous	I	6.1	5.8	5.8	Increase (?)
	II	3.6	3.9	4.0	
	III	3.2	3.2	3.4	
	IV	3.0	3.0	3.1	
	V	3.2	3.3	3.5	

for differences in the basis of assessment. The invisible nature of personal property and the reluctance of property owners to disclose it for purposes of taxation makes this type of information very untrustworthy. Consequently, by the process of elimination we are forced to accept real property per capita as a criterion of wealth. There is this much to be said for it. As the bulk of city taxes falls upon real estate, it seems natural that it would bear a closer relation to the city budget than any other form of wealth.

The basis of assessment in different cities of the country varies from 15% to 100%. The estimated true value of the property was obtained by correcting the figures for the assessed valuation according to the basis of assessment. Per capita figures were then obtained by dividing the total [4] by the census estimate of population for that year.

A comparison was made of the average budget distribution of the ten [5] wealthiest and the ten [4] poorest cities of each size group with the average for that group. Surprisingly little effect is seen on the budget proportions as a result of increased values in real estate. There are in evidence only two somewhat questionable upward movements for sanitation and miscellaneous expenditures. The others are decidedly uncertain.

The upward swing in miscellaneous appropriations is not surprising. This covers a multitude of

[4] Statistics on assessment and population taken from 1927 Financial Statistics of Cities.

[5] Seven in the case of Groups I and II.

TABLE XIII—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF DEPARTMENTAL EXPENSES (EXCLUSIVE OF OUTLAYS) ACCORDING TO PER CAPITA WEALTH IN THE DIFFERENT SIZE GROUPS

Function	Wealth	I and II	III	IV	V	Tendency
General government	High	8.75	5.95	6.11	6.54	Uncertain
	Average	9.36	5.83	6.12	6.27	
	Low	9.47	5.53	6.25	5.90	
Police	High	9.61	8.87	8.21	6.56	Uncertain
	Average	10.48	9.28	8.61	7.58	
	Low	9.45	9.03	9.01	7.14	
Fire protection	High	7.74	8.58	9.83	7.62	Uncertain
	Average	7.85	10.21	9.80	9.73	
	Low	7.80	10.15	10.43	10.34	
Other protection	High	1.88	1.13	1.05	.79	Uncertain
	Average	1.86	1.20	1.03	.96	
	Low	1.92	1.36	1.24	.86	
Health	High	2.98	2.29	2.05	2.14	Uncertain
	Average	2.91	2.45	2.01	2.07	
	Low	3.67	2.60	2.58	2.08	
Sanitation	High	7.65	8.49	7.14	6.01	Increase (?)
	Average	6.84	6.96	6.56	5.92	
	Low	6.50	7.26	5.90	4.13	
Highways	High	9.77	10.14	8.85	11.38	Uncertain
	Average	10.02	8.98	8.75	10.26	
	Low	10.10	9.17	7.64	9.21	
Charities	High	8.61	5.11	1.72	2.69	Uncertain
	Average	7.76	3.75	3.53	3.65	
	Low	7.20	5.27	4.28	3.88	
Schools	High	31.47	40.37	47.75	48.59	Uncertain
	Average	33.40	43.16	46.22	45.89	
	Low	35.90	41.73	45.58	49.57	
Libraries	High	1.31	1.28	1.59	1.11	Uncertain
	Average	1.48	1.47	1.42	1.37	
	Low	1.84	1.33	1.49	1.70	
Recreation	High	4.64	3.73	3.15	2.16	Uncertain
	Average	3.69	3.44	2.91	2.90	
	Low	3.05	3.81	3.07	2.20	
Miscellaneous	High	5.54	4.06	2.61	4.42	Increase (?)
	Average	4.33	3.23	2.87	3.33	
	Low	3.11	2.70	2.51	2.95	

things such as pensions, administration of trust funds, judgments and losses, publicity advertising, and special features, such as tourist camps, contributions toward the support of various organizations, entertaining of guests and erection of monuments, and serves as a catchall for any other undistributed expenses. We should naturally expect to see it increase in a prosperous community.

As has been seen through the comparison of wealth and costs in Chapter Five, the total cost of governmental expenditures has a tendency to increase in wealthy communities which, of course, means an absolute increase for the various functions, but this increased liberality also extends to additional enterprises and as they are all included under miscellaneous expenditures this heading gets a relative increase. There is also apparent a slight upward tendency in sanitation costs.

Regardless of what uncertainty may attend the attempts to study the effect of wealth upon budget distribution through lack of a satisfactory criterion, the same criticism does not hold with a study of costs. Cities spend a certain amount to keep going. Both total and per capita figures are known and published annually. Per capita figures for some few cities that are experiencing an abnormal rate of growth are not available, it is true, but these are too few in number to affect the results.

A similar procedure was followed as in the case of the wealth factor. A comparison of the average budget distribution of the cities having the highest

per capita departmental costs was made with the average for the cities having the lowest expenditures and the average for the whole group. This was done for each of the four groups, and as before, only those tendencies considered which were apparent in every group.

When a city increases its governmental costs does it do so pro rata for the various functions, or does it expand in spots? The figures secured seemed to indicate that for the most part the increased liberality affects all of the departments rather equally, thereby preserving the same balance between functions. It is true that miscellaneous costs tend to increase, but when it is remembered, as explained before, that miscellaneous covers additional and irregular enterprises, this tendency does not seem incompatible with a widespread and uniform expansion. One exception, however, is found in the health appropriations, which show a tendency to increase relatively.

A city's standard of service rendered was found to exert a more potent influence on budget distribution than any of the factors we have studied with the exception of time. Not only were more tendencies apparent than in the case of wealth or costs, but they were, for the most part, more emphatic.

The proportion of the budget devoted to police and other protection and to charities declined with increasing standards. General government and sanitation expenditures showed a somewhat question-

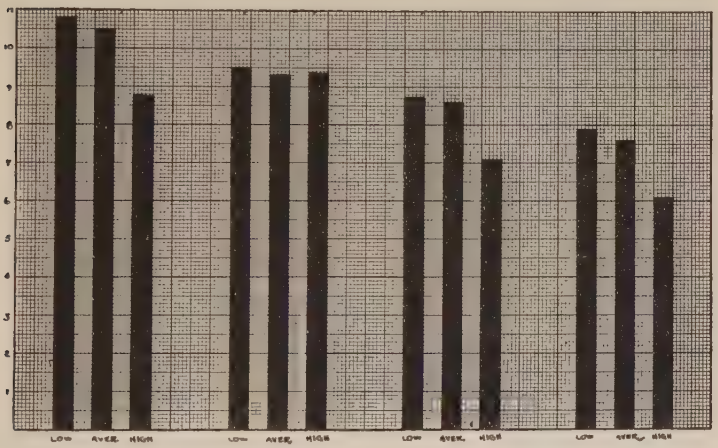
TABLE XIV—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF DEPARTMENTAL EXPENSES (EXCLUSIVE OF OUTLAYS) ACCORDING TO PER CAPITA COSTS IN THE DIFFERENT SIZE GROUPS

Function	Costs	I and II	III	IV	V	Tendency
General government	High	8.24	5.88	5.37	5.59	
	Average	9.36	5.83	6.12	6.27	Uncertain
	Low	9.24	6.73	7.13	6.69	
Police	High	9.51	9.43	8.13	7.17	
	Average	10.48	9.28	8.61	7.58	Uncertain
	Low	11.80	9.56	9.16	7.25	
Fire protection	High	7.37	8.51	10.32	10.60	
	Average	7.85	10.21	9.80	9.73	Uncertain
	Low	8.65	10.55	9.14	8.01	
Other protection	High	1.91	1.27	1.00	1.13	
	Average	1.86	1.20	1.03	.96	Uncertain
	Low	1.98	1.46	.98	.87	
Health	High	3.04	2.99	2.34	2.19	
	Average	2.91	2.45	2.01	2.07	Increase (?)
	Low	2.61	1.94	2.05	1.72	
Sanitation	High	8.45	8.10	7.75	4.83	
	Average	6.84	6.96	6.56	5.92	Uncertain
	Low	6.71	7.33	6.40	4.89	
Highways	High	9.31	9.54	9.43	10.02	
	Average	10.02	8.98	8.75	10.26	Uncertain
	Low	10.32	9.97	8.89	10.56	
Charities	High	9.00	6.55	3.53	6.56	
	Average	7.76	3.75	3.53	3.65	Uncertain
	Low	6.87	3.77	4.34	1.64	
Schools	High	32.31	37.92	43.56	41.80	
	Average	33.40	43.16	46.22	45.89	Uncertain
	Low	33.38	41.42	45.01	51.95	
Libraries	High	1.27	1.40	1.80	1.52	
	Average	1.48	1.47	1.42	1.37	Uncertain
	Low	1.42	1.24	1.20	1.17	
Recreation	High	4.45	3.83	3.48	3.77	
	Average	3.69	3.44	2.91	2.90	Uncertain
	Low	3.32	4.69	2.38	2.12	
Miscellaneous	High	5.10	4.55	3.30	4.79	
	Average	4.33	3.23	2.87	3.33	Increase (?)
	Low	3.68	2.60	3.33	3.12	

TABLE XV—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF DEPARTMENTAL EXPENSES (EXCLUSIVE OF OUTLAYS) ACCORDING TO THE SERVICE RATING IN THE DIFFERENT SIZE GROUPS

Function	Rating	I and II	III	IV	V	Tendency
General government ..	High	8.94	5.96	5.00	5.83	Decrease (?)
	Average	9.36	5.83	6.12	6.27	
	Low	9.48	5.86	6.42	6.23	
Police	High	8.74	9.34	7.11	6.07	Decrease
	Average	10.48	9.28	8.61	7.58	
	Low	10.81	9.49	8.76	7.89	
Fire protection	High	8.22	10.50	10.16	10.41	Uncertain
	Average	7.85	10.21	9.80	9.73	
	Low	7.68	10.60	9.22	10.45	
Other protection	High	1.75	1.11	.93	.79	Decrease
	Average	1.86	1.20	1.03	.96	
	Low	2.01	1.45	1.04	.98	
Health	High	3.57	1.80	2.00	1.95	Uncertain
	Average	2.91	2.45	2.01	2.07	
	Low	2.98	3.13	2.28	2.42	
Sanitation	High	6.75	6.74	6.12	4.81	Decrease (?)
	Average	6.84	6.96	6.56	5.92	
	Low	7.72	7.58	6.03	5.47	
Highways	High	9.61	9.19	8.09	10.33	Uncertain
	Average	10.02	8.98	8.75	10.26	
	Low	11.72	10.28	9.09	9.19	
Charities	High	6.94	1.96	1.98	3.18	Decrease
	Average	7.76	3.75	3.53	3.65	
	Low	8.01	6.61	5.26	4.53	
Schools	High	34.35	44.80	49.29	48.06	Increase
	Average	33.40	43.16	46.22	45.89	
	Low	32.34	36.58	44.80	45.29	
Libraries	High	1.67	1.74	2.23	1.94	Increase
	Average	1.48	1.47	1.42	1.37	
	Low	1.34	1.20	1.28	1.23	
Recreation	High	4.21	3.80	4.69	3.07	Increase (?)
	Average	3.69	3.44	2.91	2.90	
	Low	2.94	4.12	3.04	2.83	
Miscellaneous	High	5.21	3.07	2.42	3.53	Uncertain
	Average	4.33	3.23	2.87	3.33	
	Low	3.35	3.12	2.77	3.50	

able tendency to decrease. The proportion spent on schools and libraries increased markedly as the standards of service increased. Recreation showed a less clearly defined tendency to increase. It is rather interesting to note that in the case of four of the eight functions responding to the service rating

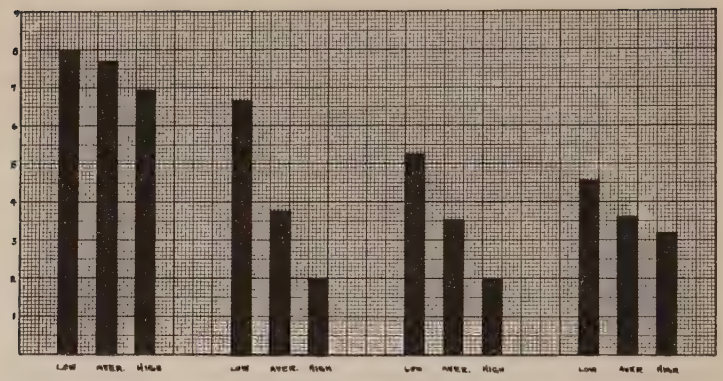


I and II	III	IV	V
Over 300,000	100,000-300,000	50,000-100,000	30,000-50,000

PER CENT OF BUDGET DEVOTED TO POLICE SUPPORT, ACCORDING TO SERVICE GRADING OF CITIES

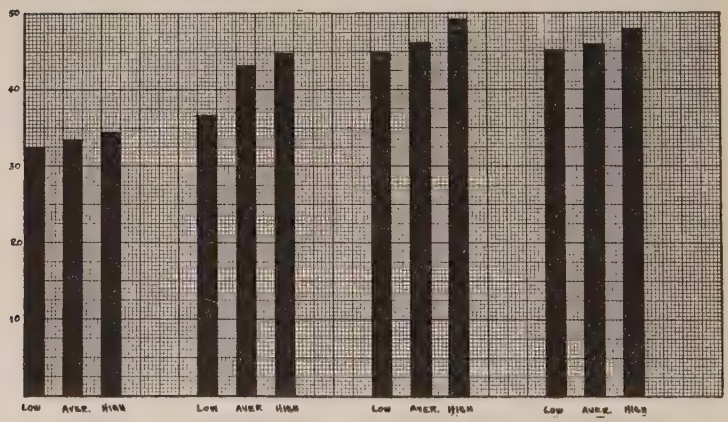
in the matter of budget appropriations, service and time tendencies coincided, while no time trends were discernible for the other four. General government, police and other protection and sanitation declined in both instances. Schools increased markedly in both.

To summarize by functions: the proportions spent on general government tend to decrease with time and rising standards of service and to increase with



I and II Over 300,000 | III 100,000-300,000 | IV 50,000-100,000 | V 30,000-50,000

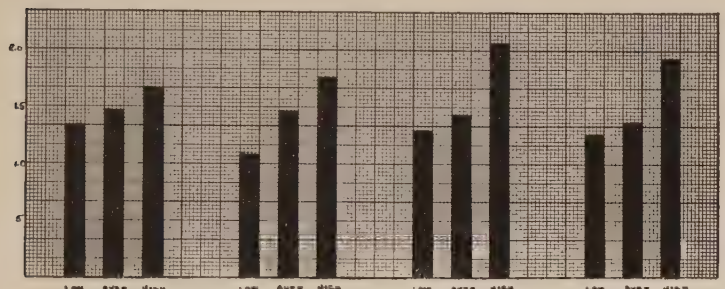
PER CENT OF BUDGET DEVOTED TO CHARITY, ACCORDING TO SERVICE GRADING OF CITIES



I and II Over 300,000 | III 100,000-300,000 | IV 50,000-100,000 | V 30,000-50,000

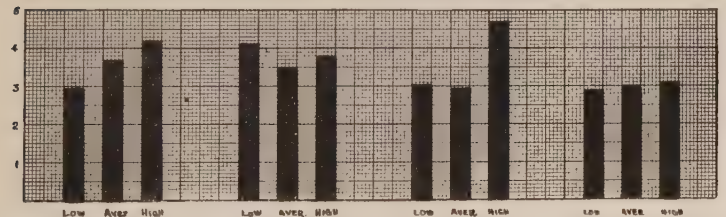
PER CENT OF BUDGET DEVOTED TO SCHOOL SUPPORT, ACCORDING TO SERVICE GRADING OF CITIES

the size of the city. This is, of course, a relative and not an absolute decrease, and is caused by other functions getting more, rather than by general government getting less financial support. Absolute



I and II	III	IV	V
Over 100,000	100,000-300,000	50,000-100,000	30,000-50,000

PER CENT OF BUDGET DEVOTED TO LIBRARY SUPPORT ACCORDING TO SERVICE GRADING OF CITIES



I and II	III	IV	V
Over 300,000	100,000-300,000	50,000-100,000	30,000-50,000

PER CENT OF BUDGET DEVOTED TO RECREATION, ACCORDING TO SERVICE GRADING OF CITIES

governmental costs have increased prodigiously during the period under consideration.

Police percentages decrease with time and the service rating, but increase rapidly up to a certain point with the size of the city.

Percentages for fire protection show a steady decline over a period of years. They increase with the

TABLE XVI—FUNCTIONAL TENDENCIES IN BUDGET DISTRIBUTION WITH RESPECT TO TIME, SIZE, WEALTH, COSTS AND SERVICE

Function	Time	Size	Wealth	Costs	Service
General government	Decrease	Increase (?)	.....	.....	Decrease (?)
Police	Decrease	Increase	.....	.....	Decrease
Fire protection	Decrease	Increase to Decrease	.....	.....	.....
Other protection	Decrease	Increase (?)	.....	.....	Decrease
Health	Increase	.....	.....	Increase (?)	.....
Sanitation	.....	Increase (?)	Increase (?)	.....	Decrease (?)
Highways	Decrease	Decrease (?)	.....	.....	.....
Charities	.....	Increase (?)	.....	.....	Decrease
Schools	Increase	Decrease	.....	.....	Increase
Libraries	.....	.....	.....	.....	Increase
Recreation	.....	.....	.....	.....	Increase (?)
Miscellaneous	Increase	Increase (?)	Increase (?)	Increase (?)	.....

size of the city until the city attains a certain size after which they begin to decrease. Percentages for other protection decrease with time and service rating and increase with the size of the city.

Health percentages increase with time and costs.

Expenditures for sanitation show three questionable evidences of definite movements—an upward one with increasing size and increasing wealth, and a downward one with rising standards of service.

Highway percentages decrease with time and to some extent with size.

Percentages for charities decrease sharply with rising standards of service and increase with the size of the city.

School trends run directly and unmistakably counter to those for police in every instance. School percentages increase with time and the service rating and decrease with size. This antagonism of tendencies is particularly interesting, as these two functions represent the two largest items of municipal expenditure.

Libraries are apparently affected only by the factor of service. Percentages increase with higher standards.

Percentages for recreation show no response to any of the five variables except service. This heading covers art galleries, museums, zoological gardens, parks and other recreational features. For more than twenty years the proportion of the budget devoted to these purposes has remained practically unchanged. This is rather surprising, as it is gen-

erally felt that cities are doing more than ever for the public enjoyment. Although new features in this line are more spectacular, they apparently are not more costly in proportion than improvements in other departments.

The final census classification, that for miscellaneous expenditures, shows upward tendencies in the case of time, size, wealth and costs and none whatever in a downward direction.

Perhaps it should be re-emphasized that the preceding discussion applies only to the relative proportions of the budget devoted to these functions. Actual expenditures are increasing steadily all along the line. The objective in this entire study has been an investigation of budget distribution. As explained in the earlier chapters a vital question in municipal finance is the determination of each department's relative share of the city funds. To repeat once more Professor Adams' dictum: "The claim of a definite appropriation is relative, and it is not until the function which it is intended to serve is fitted into the general scheme of social activities that the strength of this claim can be measured."

Considering the fact that the time trends are becoming very gradual and that wealth and costs are almost negligible influences in budget distribution, except as they tend to increase miscellaneous expenditures, it is apparent that the size of the city and the quality of the government are at present the most influential factors determining budget distribution. But the average budget distribution of the leading

cities in a particular size group can never be accepted as an exact pattern for any particular individual city. Adjustments will always have to be made for peculiar local differences. At best it is merely something of a yardstick by means of which cities can check themselves and get some idea of whether they have a well balanced program of activities or whether their government is becoming lopsided.

TABLE XVII—AVERAGE BUDGET DISTRIBUTION OF THE TEN [a] CITIES WITH THE HIGHEST SERVICE RATING IN EACH SIZE GROUP (PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL BUDGET)

Function	I and II	III	IV	V
General	8.94	5.96	5.00	5.83
Police	8.74	9.34	7.11	6.07
Fire protection	8.22	10.50	10.16	10.41
Other protection	1.75	1.11	.93	.79
Health	3.57	1.80	2.00	1.95
Sanitation	6.75	6.74	6.12	4.81
Highways	9.61	9.19	8.09	10.33
Charities	6.94	1.96	1.98	3.18
Schools	34.35	44.80	49.29	48.06
Libraries	1.67	1.74	2.23	1.94
Recreation	4.21	3.80	4.69	3.07
Miscellaneous	5.21	3.07	2.42	3.53

[a] Seven in the case of Groups I and II.

Table XVII represents a norm of budget distribution for cities of different size groups, based upon the preceding statistical analysis.

It would certainly be a very superficial action on the part of any city government to try to conform exactly to this norm of expenditures, but every budget making official should be able to "show cause why" the budget deviates from it in any respect. The public officials should be on the defensive in the matter of making appropriations and should

be able to justify every local aberration in terms of social expediency. The idea is not so much that they should conform to a set standard as that they should be able to explain satisfactorily to the citizens why they do not conform.[6]

An attempt to hold rigidly to this standard of expenditure would impede progress toward more desirable budget distribution. After taking into full account the average expenditures of progressive cities in its class, an enlightened community may feel so keenly the social desirability of emphasizing some particular function that it may heavily increase the appropriations for it. This, however, should be done as a conscious social policy and not as the result of political machinations. If this example is followed by other cities the relative proportions of "ideal" expenditure will be shifted and new standards of distribution set up.

More than 30 years ago Professor H. C. Adams in the noteworthy study referred to in an earlier chapter, made some interesting predictions, based on a purely deductive analysis of governmental expenditures.

He declared that "the important question which the theory of expenditure asks regarding the several lines of public service pertains to the influence of a developing civilization upon the grants demanded for the support of each service."[7] He then proceeds to discuss the relative share of each function.

[6] See discussion on p. 51.

[7] Henry Carter Adams, *The Science of Finance*, p. 55.

An increase of expenditures for police and for courts, at a rate more rapid than is justified by the growth or the shifting of population, or by the extension of duties imposed upon them, is proof of one of two things; it shows either that government is corruptly administered, or that the laws which the police and the courts are called upon to enforce are not regarded as just by the community. That is to say, it shows that civilization is in a condition of arrested development. The normal tendency is for police and court expenses to rest more and more lightly on the community as the years go by.[8]

He next takes up "expenditures for protection against social diseases" under which he includes functions which are now classified as charities and corrections.

The exercise of this control grants protection to the individual and guards society against weakness and decay. Will the expenditures for this phase of protection increase or decrease with the development of civilization? . . . . Assuming that no changes take place in the civil life or social structure by which the evils referred to are engendered, such as increased congestion of population, increased concentration of industrial power, the introduction of undesirable foreign elements, and the like, it may be said that the normal tendency of an advancing civilization is towards the decrease of the financial burden which this phase of protection imposes. . . . . The general conclusion, therefore, with regard to the protective functions of government is that the influence of progress is to lessen their financial weight. The greater increased economy of society which comes with a keener perception of personal right and a clearer apprehension of social duties, as well as the increased health and strength of society, physical as well as moral, renders the appeal to the State for protection less frequent and less imperative.[9]

[8] Ibid., p. 59.
[9] Ibid., p. 60-61.

The protective functions of the State are addressed primarily to the evils of society, and are efficient in proportion as they repress the perverted inclination of individuals or destroy the unpropitious conditions in society. The developmental functions, on the other hand, recognize the good in human nature and the useful in society, and are successful in proportion as they lead to the growth of what is good and the fruitage of what is useful. Both classes of public duties are necessary to social development, but the one being repressive in its nature, while the other undertakes a process of cultivation, there seems to be a clear difference between them—a difference which is most significant when considered in its relation to the natural law of public expenditures.[10]

The principal developmental functions are education and recreation.

Those lines of public activity which, according to the analysis here adopted, comprise the third [11] and final class of governmental functions, are such as spring from a desire on the part of society to attain higher forms of social life. The aspiration of individuals, although necessary to this end, is not adequate for its realization; it is equally important that society in its organized capacity should enter upon a series of orderly changes under the direction of a definite programme of social development. The theory upon which such a programme rests is supplied by modern science and modern philosophy, and assumes that it is possible for the State to determine, in a large degree, the conditions under which men live, and in this manner to make intelligent selection of influences by which they are surrounded.[12]

[10] Ibid., p. 69.

[11] The second classification, that of commercial functions, is roughly comparable to public utilities and, therefore, not pertinent here.

[12] Ibid., p. 69.

It can be seen from the above that the results of the present statistical study have strikingly corroborated the philosophical deductions of Professor Adams. As he predicted, relative expenditures for police and charities have notably declined with " social advancement " and educational costs have increased. The relative advance of recreational costs is not so unmistakable. It can be seen from Table XVI that recreational costs increase markedly with rising standards of service in the first and fifth groups, but the aberrations found in the third and fourth groups make the tendency of uncertain significance.

This rather gratifying agreement between these two very diverse studies is the more interesting in view of the fact that it happened that the statistical work of the present study was completed before the author became acquainted with the predictions of Professor Adams.

Protests against increasing costs of government will be as futile in the future as they have been in the past. The most that the taxpayer can do is to act as a brake upon the too rapid acceleration of the tax rate and to see that for the money thus wrung out of his pockets he gets a maximum return. Standards of governmental living must inevitably rise in a progressive community. More honesty, more economy, more hairsplitting distribution of appropriations must be achieved as a result of this tremendous impact of demands directed against the limited resources of the taxpayer.

CHAPTER VII

Restraints Upon Budget Distribution

Whether or not a city government handles its fiscal affairs in a businesslike manner, protecting municipal funds and public interests, and at the same time dispensing with red tape, undue delay in the payment of bills, and similar annoyances to private individuals and concerns who deal with it, depends in a large measure on its financial organization.—A. E. Buck.

The preceding discussion has, perhaps, appeared to indicate that budget officials are free to divide up the appropriations as seems best to them; that once they have determined upon a policy they may proceed to carry it out, thereby giving to each function that which seems to them desirable. As a matter of fact, such is far from being the case. No city budget makers in the country have that prerogative. All must face restraints of one kind or another in the matter of dividing up the city funds. But restrictions vary from place to place and in some communities the officials undoubtedly have a much wider sweep of action than in others. Budget procedure in actual practice is far from being standardized. In one place the potency of the budget as an executive tool is tremendous; in another it is frittered away.

A study of budget making cannot go far without some consideration of the checks placed upon the budget-making officials in making appropriations.

These limitations are of three major types: external governmental restrictions, such as state and county interference; overlapping authority within the city government; and popular pressure.

All of these limitations have their place. The delicate question to be decided is where and to what extent each brake upon the executive power should be applied. Too much of the first two will forestall the operation of the third as illustrated by the Chicago situation. Too little of the first is feared because it may cause a repetition of some of the scandals of our earlier municipal history. Removal of the second presents terrifying possibilities when one considers the type of executives some of our large cities select. The question obviously resolves itself into one of degree, to be determined with respect to the peculiar characteristics of the particular municipality.

Seven cities, Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, Philadelphia and Baltimore, were visited in an attempt to get some first hand data on actual budget making procedure. The present discussion is intended to give some idea of the extent to which the first two types of limitations, that is, external governmental restrictions and overlapping authority within the government, are found in these cities.

The following sketch is not intended to indicate the desirability of any particular division of power as exemplified by the cities discussed. Quality of

government and the spirit of the community vary considerably from city to city. A system that might work admirably in one place would break down in another. For example, Baltimore is an old established city with a conservative financial policy. It has never had a major municipal scandal. Also, it doesn't produce any startling governmental achievements. Detroit is a young mammoth of dynamic growth that must meet stupendous problems with amazing rapidity. The three largest cities of the country belong in a class to themselves and give rise to the question whether democratic city government must inevitably break down when cities attain a certain size. The best method of budget making procedure for any one of these cities is not necessarily the best for any of the others. That such an extreme example of decentralization as that which exists in Chicago would always be attended with grave difficulties seems obvious, but the exact extent of legislative control and county complications, as well as the shading of power between the executive and legislative powers within the city are questions which will probably always need to be considered with respect to the particular municipality.

The financial structure of the Chicago government appears very complicated to an outsider. First, there is the county, which came into existence as a subdivision of the state. It comprises an area approximately four times as large as that of the city. The assessment and collection of taxes are functions

of the county. The school district grew out of the township system. Its rate of levy is fixed by the legislature. The park districts when created were without the corporate limits of the city. The sanitary district came into being because the debt limit enforced upon the city by the legislature did not allow for sufficient outlays to meet the sanitary needs of the city. Another municipality, taking in some territory not within the city limits, and leaving out some that was within its boundaries, was incorporated, thereby almost doubling the tax limit. Then there are the Forest Preserve District, the Public Library and other functions all enjoying special financial privileges in the matter of tax levies. A recent writer claims that there are "thirty-one distinct and independent local governments operating within the city, plus six semi-independent tax-levying bodies."[1]

Of the functions left to the custody of the city government there are some that must legally receive support from particular funds, for example, street repairs from the vehicle tax and water supply from water rents. Not even all of the policemen are under the control of the city. One can stand at the intersection of Washington Street and Michigan Boulevard and watch the policemen of the city protecting lives and property on Washington Street, while the police of the South Park Board dressed in different uniform, do likewise on the Boulevard.

[1]Karl Borders, "Cashless Chicago," in *The Survey,* LXIII, 567-568.

The city government cannot determine its basis of assessment, it cannot fix its tax rate and only within limits can it distribute its appropriations.

The Chicago budget is legislative rather than executive. Departmental estimates, that is, for those departments which are under the control of the city government, are submitted to the Comptroller in September. He may cut and revise them as he sees fit. He is then required to submit these estimates, as revised by him, to the Finance Committee of the City Council before December 1. The Finance Committee then proceeds to make up its estimates. Shortly after January 1 these estimates are submitted to the Mayor. He is allowed ten days for consideration of the budget and may recommend either increases or decreases to the Finance Commission. His recommendations are usually but not always followed.

In Milwaukee responsibility for the budget is divided between the Mayor, the Board of Estimates and the Common Council, subject to certain state and county restrictions. The state has placed a limit of nine and five-tenths mills per dollar of the total assessed valuation on the levy for educational purposes.[2] Certain functions—charities for example—are maintained by the county instead of the city.

[2] "Pursuant to state legislation enacted in 1927 sponsored by both school and city officials there was overwhelmingly approved at a referendum in 1928 a proposal to levy a tax for five years of not to exceed one mill for the purchase of school sites and the erection of school buildings. In addition to this the common council has the power to levy an additional tax for school construction in lieu of

The Common Council is legally responsible for the budget. Departmental estimates are submitted to the Comptroller who lays them before the Board of Estimates, composed of the Mayor, President of the City Council, Comptroller, Treasurer, City Attorney, Commissioner of Public Works and the members of the Finance Committee of the Council. The Finance Committee consists of five aldermen. As a matter of fact the bulk of the budget making is done by a small inner group, composed of the Mayor, the Commissioner of Public Works and the Chairman of the Finance Committee. Questions of policy are determined by the Board. All Board meetings are by law open to the public and it is moreover required that at least one public hearing be granted before the budget is submitted to the Council. The Council must also hold at least one public hearing.

The Council may make such changes in the budget as it sees fit. The Mayor then has the power to veto any of the items, but the Council may if it wishes to do so, pass such item over the Mayor's veto. The School Board and the Local Board of Industrial Education make up their own budgets which are not subject to revision either by the Board of Estimates or the Council. Forty per cent of the total budget is thus removed from the control of the city govern-

bonds, and the 1928 tax levy, for example, included the additional sum of $500,000 for school sites and buildings." (Quotation from letter of Frederick N. MacMillin, Executive Secretary of the League of Wisconsin Municipalities.)

ment. Milwaukee, though much less handicapped than Chicago, is still far from having centralized budget control.

Detroit has an entire bureau devoted to the business of auditing and budget making. The staff comprises a Budget Director, Assistant Budget Director, Examining Engineer, Statistician, fourteen accountants and three stenographers. A member of the Budget Bureau is assigned to each department of the city government to work in connection with that department the year round. Budget distribution is not determined pro rata, but by an analysis of past expenditures and improvements during the year. Comparison is also made with other cities.

The fiscal year in Detroit is from July 1 to June 30. On January 1 blank forms for budget estimates are sent to the department heads by the Budget Bureau. These are returned about the fifteenth of January. Comparative figures for previous years are supplied by the Bureau and the whole is printed in a book of monumental proportions. A sufficient number of blank columns are left to take care of the numerous revisions the budget will receive. When the process has been finally completed it is thus possible to see at a glance what modifications the original request has suffered at the hands of each successive official. First the budget is analyzed and recommendations made by the Budget Director. It then goes to the Mayor. At this time he may make any changes he desires. The Mayor transmits the revised budget to

the Common Council who sit as a committee of the whole and may increase or decrease any item. On the third Tuesday in April the budget returns to the Mayor who may veto any item but cannot make any increases. When the budget is again returned to the Council any item of which the Mayor has disapproved may be passed over his veto.

Divided responsibility in budget making between the legislative and executive branches of the government is again apparent. The Mayor and Council are legally responsible for the budget. The Budget Bureau, which is under the Comptroller, actually makes it.

Detroit has much more power in the matter of budget making than either of the two cities previously discussed. No departmental appropriations are fixed by the Legislature, although a maximum limit of two per cent of the assessed valuation of the city is set for the combined tax and bond statements. The school budget is subject to revision by the budget makers, although schools are permitted to make their own purchases and "are supreme within their budget."

Cleveland has Home Rule, but it does not apply to taxes and debts. The city is allowed a rate of 15 mills (until 1927 it was ten mills) on the assessed valuation, but in some mysterious way this can be increased to 25 mills, and this is where it usually hovers. Schools and libraries are included within this limit, but the city officials have no authority

over them and they are not included in the published budget of the city government.

The Division of Accounts sets the Cleveland Budget procedure in motion by sending out estimates forms to department heads about the middle of September. They are returned a month later and are assembled and compiled by the Division for the consideration of the Manager. Meanwhile, the Director of Finance sends the Manager a statement setting forth the " total probable income of the city from taxes for the period covered by the estimate " plus an itemization of all other anticipated revenues and also the amount that will be needed for interest, sinking fund and other fixed charges.

One usually feels that two or three possible courses are open to budget makers. The tax rate may be boosted to meet departmental estimates, or estimates may be pared to fit the tax rate, or a compromise may be effected by adjusting the two to meet each other. But in Cleveland only the second course is open to the officials and that only within limits. For example, the revenue side of the budget is rigid and cannot be altered, and on the other side, only certain expenditures can be adjusted. Fixed charges must be met and educational appropriations must be made so the budget making power is confined within comparatively narrow limits.

The Manager presents his estimate to the Council in December. It is supposed to be passed by January 1 (the beginning of the fiscal year) but this does not always happen. When the budget is not com-

pleted by January 1 the Council may, upon recommendation of the City Manager, vote preliminary appropriations to be charged against the budget allotments of the various departments. The Council has power to change any items in the budget but cannot increase the total unless there are indications that receipts will be heavier than counted upon in the earlier estimates. Public hearings must be held on the budget as presented to the Council by the Manager. The Council is legally responsible for the budget. The Division of Accounts and the Manager make it.

Buffalo, like Detroit, has an entirely separate Budget Division. Budget making proceeds as follows: Estimate forms are sent out about the first of January by the Budget Division. The Department heads are allowed one month in which to make up their estimates for the coming year. At the end of that time they must be returned to the Budget Division. There they are compiled and submitted to the Mayor. The Division has power to correct and revise the estimates before they go any further. The Mayor may make any changes he sees fit. The budget is then passed on to the Council who may likewise change it. It is returned to the Mayor who has power to veto any item.[3] The Council may, and at times does, override his veto.

[3] A Buffalo editor in commenting on this discussion of the Buffalo budget making system which appeared in the May 1930 issue of the *National Municipal Review,* feels that it is very inadequate. Extracts from his remarks are as follows: " The vital error in this is the failure

In addition to this division of responsibility within the city there are certain external restrictions on budget making. Only the total of the school budget is subject to revision by the budgetmakers. The schools make their own purchases and make out their own payrolls. Five hundredths of one per cent of the total assessed valuation goes to libraries. Some fines go to the Police Fund. Otherwise, all revenue goes to the general fund and all appropriations are made from it.

Budget making in Philadelphia is a very decentralized affair. The city and county are coterminous, but administratively they are not the same. The de-

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to note that the mayor has power to veto, not 'any item,' but only additions to the budget. The Council may make reductions in the budget and such action stands without further reference to the mayor. The Council also may make additions, but each must be stated separately and distinctly and must refer to a single object. These additions alone are subject to veto by the mayor. Such vetoes may be overruled by a two-thirds vote of the Council, but lacking such vote the vetoes stand.

"Thus the mayor and Council check each other, and the general influence of this balance of power is toward economy. The question whether the mayor or Council exercises the greater influence in the outcome depends somewhat on circumstances. Under a former mayor, the Council held down expenditures and prevented the diversion of a capital fund to meet current expenses. The present mayor's budget offered little basis for criticism and was adopted substantially as recommended. . . . . The omission of the distinctive feature of check and balance in the Buffalo system, therefore, is particularly regrettable, not only because it tends to misrepresent this city, but also because here is a point in municipal government about which forward-looking persons in other cities might be glad to know." (Editorial, "Buffalo's Budget System," in the Buffalo *Evening News,* May 1930.)

partments of Public Safety, Public Works, Health, Welfare, Supplies, Wharves, Docks and Ferries, City Transit, Law, City Architect, Library and Museums are under the control of the Mayor and are known as city departments. He has no control over the so-called "county departments," such as the City Controller, Commissioners of Sinking Funds, City Treasurer, Clerk of the Council, Clerk of Quarter Sessions, Prothonotary, Coroner, City Commissioners, District Attorney, County Prisons, Receiver of Taxes, Board of Revision of Taxes, Recorder of Deeds, Register of Wills, Sheriff, Registration Commission, Art Jury, Civil Service Commission and the Fairmount Park Commission. The schools belong to neither city nor county. Pennsylvania law divides the state into school districts which are independent taxing bodies, comparable to municipalities. Moreover, there are certain poor districts, concerning which there is much vagueness, which are also independent with separate taxing powers. They are hangovers from the past and as their rates are petty they do not figure conspicuously in the city government.

But this is not the full story of scattered responsibility in budget making, for there is no unified control over even such a remnant of the city budget as is left. The Controller is required by law to furnish the Mayor with an estimate of receipts and liabilities for the coming year with a statement of the borrowing capacity of the city, which the Mayor trans-

mits to the Council. The Council is legally bound to accept these estimates.

Meanwhile, all department heads, excepting the schools, are required to submit estimates for the coming year to the Budget Clerk, an appointee of the Mayor. The Mayor revises the estimates coming from the departments under his control, but has no power to revise the so-called county estimates. The budget goes to the Council in two parts, one labeled "Departments under the Mayor," and the other, "Departments not under the Mayor." The Council has full power to revise all of the items, but the appropriations ordinance must be signed by the Mayor.

Budget making procedure in Baltimore is simple and responsibility clearly defined. All department heads are required to submit estimates for the needs of the coming year to the Budget Clerk, who is also the Director of the Bureau of Disbursements. This position comes under the Civil Service regulations and the present incumbent has held office for eleven years. He checks over the items to see that they are in proper form, but does not otherwise revise them. A Budget Committee, appointed by the Mayor and consisting of the Budget Clerk and the Chief Engineer,[4] then revises these estimates in accordance

[4] The desirability of having the head of a large program planning department revise the budget estimates is open to question. The Department of Public Works in Baltimore is, next to the Department of Education, the largest spending department of the city government. Every program planning official, to the extent that he is efficient and progressive, will naturally desire to build up and expand his own

with administration policies. When they have completed their task of revising the estimates according to the desires of the Mayor, the proposed budget is submitted to the Board of Estimates by the Mayor.

The Board consists of five members, two of whom are appointees of the Mayor, the Chief Engineer and the Solicitor, and three of whom are elected officials, the Mayor, the President of the Council and the Comptroller. Of the five votes, the Mayor controls three. Legally, the Board is responsible for the budget. Actually, the Mayor has the ultimate control. Budget meetings are held in executive session although public hearings are granted when desired. The Council has no power to increase any budget item. It has power to decrease the budget, but as it has never exercised this power, nor is it likely to do so, its relation to the budget is perfunctory.

Summarizing the above from the standpoint of the second type of budget restrictions, that is, those arising from overlapping authority within the city government, it appears that in four of the cities, Milwaukee, Detroit, Cleveland and Buffalo, the final budget authority is divided between the executive and legislative branches of the city government, although the preponderance of responsibility seems

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branch of the service. It is putting him in a rather unfair position to force him to abandon that point of view for the antithetical one of paring down and equalizing the whole budget. The fact that such an arrangement may have worked satisfactorily under the present régime does not alter the fact that it is establishing a dangerous precedent.

to be with the executive. Detroit and Buffalo have Budget Bureaus working under the executive branch. It is rather difficult to locate the scattered remains of budget responsibility in Chicago, but it seems to be with the Council. This body is undeniably more powerful in Philadelphia. Baltimore has an outstanding executive budget.

One of the most drastic forms of state interference is found in limitations upon the tax levy. Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee and Cleveland meet restrictions of this type.

Functional appropriations wholly or partially removed from the control of the city may be found in every one of the seven cities. This may happen in any one of several different ways. There may be independent taxing bodies such as the schools and poor districts of Philadelphia or the numerous different governments of Chicago. Certain functions may receive a stipulated proportion of the total assessed valuation, as in the case of the Detroit street opening and zoological park taxes, and the Cleveland school and library taxes. Or a fixed amount may be designated for particular enterprises as exemplified by some of the Buffalo funds. Another form of state interference in functional appropriations is illustrated by the Baltimore police appropriations. Some years ago the Police Department was made accountable to the state. Its annual reports are now made to the Governor and although its financial support comes from the city budget it may and at times

does appeal to the Legislature for an increase of funds. If the request is approved by the Legislature, the city government must grant the increase.

In addition to the above restrictions on budget distribution, the practice still remains of tying up certain revenues to particular functions, often in no way related. The most glaring example of this procedure is to be found in Baltimore. Many years ago when the first street car franchise was granted, it was done with the stipulation that a certain proportion of the gross proceeds was to be turned over to the city and to be used for park maintenance, and in this manner the parks have been maintained from that day to this. If street car receipts fall off, the parks funds do likewise, and vice versa. In Detroit court fines go to the library fund and revenue from dog licenses to police pensions. In Buffalo revenue from fines is assigned to the police pension fund. Somewhat more logic may be seen in the provisions that vehicle taxes be used for highway maintenance in Cleveland and Chicago. In several of the cities revenues from the Water Department are used for the support of that department.

County entanglements add to the complexity of the situation. Baltimore is not in a county and so escapes this complication altogether. The area of Philadelphia is coterminous with that of the county. Approximately half of the city departments are assigned to the county. Both the city and county departments are under the Council, but only the former are under the jurisdiction of the Mayor. The other

cities are located in counties covering much more area than themselves. The line of demarcation between city and county responsibilities is not uniform. Milwaukee has its charitable work performed by the county. In some of the cities the assessment and collection of taxes are county rather than city functions.

The above short sketch indicates some of the restraints upon budget making officials in seven of the large cities. They are perhaps fairly typical. In addition to the limitations just discussed there must be considered the checks arising from public opinion.

A budget clerk in one city made the statement that there could never be marginal distribution of appropriations because of the tremendous political power which the schools wielded as a result of public opinion. A budget clerk in another city claimed that the press and business interests of the city forced the hand of the city government and made the city officials vote increased appropriations for the support of the police department. Another city government claims that it cannot develop a civic center or an adequate park program because of the public refusal to endorse these projects.

Much more potent than the public opinion of the masses, however, is the concentrated endeavor of particular groups who remain largely invisible to the public eye, but constantly operate on public officials with telling results.

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusion

The problem will never be anything but a most difficult one, but with all its difficulties there is every reason to be hopeful.—James Bryce.

Increasing numbers of scholars are devoting their attention to city government. They attack the problem as a medical scientist would study a new disease—as a fascinating and baffling phenomenon. They hope and believe that progress must surely result from the mass of their researches, but that is not the motivating cause of the inquiry. They study it because they must, because no other problem lures them quite so keenly. The modern city is to them an amazing economic achievement, a vast sociological experiment, with infinite possibilities of development.

More than fifty per cent of the country's population must find within the city their economic opportunity and their chance for cultural development. The great majority of the remainder are indirectly dependent upon the urban community.

A number of forces, many of them recent in origin, are acting in concert to bring about better city government. One of the most potent of these is the local press, which to a great extent casts aside its partisanship in local affairs and acts as a watchdog of

the people's interests. Prominent news features faithfully record the governmental activities in great detail and pungent editorials flay or praise the public official unceasingly. An official who is highly commended for an achievement one day may find himself bitterly scored in another respect on the next. He is never allowed to forget that the spotlight of publicity is playing upon him. Publicity is to a government what sunlight is to the body; it does not cure all ills, but it undeniably prevents a great many.

The independent research bureau, now found in most of the large cities, is playing an important and increasing part in city affairs. Does the city have an unsatisfactory system of garbage disposal; are the politicians resorting to an unwise financial expedient; is the populace in arms over the smoke nuisance? Then this bureau, composed of highly trained research workers, immediately sets to work to study and report upon the situation and to offer a remedy. It does not wait to be asked to make the study and having made it, it need not worry over the possible effect upon the politicians. The report is completed and published. The city officials have the benefit of expert advice which they may accept or reject. The citizens are enabled to form their own opinion concerning a difficult question.

National, state and international organizations of governmental officials, or of people interested in municipal affairs, have an important rôle. The National Municipal League and the National Institute of Pub-

lic Administration for years have paved the way for local governing bodies. Model ordinances of all kinds are worked out and published. Reports on various phases of administration are being constantly made. The International City Managers' Association and the New York State Conference of Mayors and other Municipal Officials are some of the organizations that serve as clearing houses of information for city executives.

A fourth type of agency for the constant dissemination of progressive ideas in city government is represented by the magazines devoted entirely to city affairs. There are a number of these, some of them covering a wide range of topics, others specializing in some particular phase of city administration. Some are local, some nation-wide in scope.

Through the use of the above media of publicity the ambitious city official may easily become informed concerning any new method that has proved successful in another city. The radio-equipped cars of the Detroit police department, the waterfront development of Milwaukee or the snow removal methods of Springfield (Mass.) may be copied by other cities. It is this constant stimulation and interchange of ideas that is vitally necessary if we are to realize the greatest possibilities of urban life. No one city will ever get the monoply on ideas for civic advancement. If a city is to achieve a high municipal standard of living it must constantly take advantage of improved methods worked out in other communities.

A comparison of contemporary cities is far more effective than a comparison of municipal achievements in the same city for different periods. The latter method is interesting but it does not signify a great deal when considered alone. A city may appear to be making wonderful strides when only its own past is viewed, but when compared with other municipalities, it may become evident that it is scarcely holding its relative position.

This study has sought to emphasize the value of the comparative method in city administration. The most important yardstick for any American city is the yardstick of other cities.

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INDEX

Accents, municipal, 3-4
Ad hoc boards, 20-21, 23
Adams, Henry Carter, quoted, 7, 37 ff., 45, 158 ff.
Administrative functions, 56-57
Akron, Tables II, III, IV
Albany, Table II
Allentown, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Altoona, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Amsterdam, Tables, II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Ash removal, 104
Ashbridge, Samuel H., 12
Atlanta, 114, Table II
Atlantic City, Table II
Auburn, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Augusta, Table II
Aurora, Table II
Austin, Table II
Austrian School of Economists, 32, 33, 47
Ayres, Leonard P., 58-59

Baltimore, 16, 61, 98, 114, 136, 137, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX; budget making procedure, 163, 164, 174-175, 176, 177; police appropriations, 176-177; street car tax, 177
Bastable, C. F., quoted, 33, 34 ff., 39, 47
Battle Creek, Table II
Bay City, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Bayonne, Table II
Beaumont, Table II
Bentham, Jeremy, quoted, 28
Bentley, Arthur F., quoted, 49
Berkeley, 96, 133, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Bethlehem, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Biggs, Hermann M., quoted, 10
Binghamton, Table II
Birmingham, 114, Table II
Boston, 5-6, 12, 61, 82, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Bridgeport, Tables II, III, IV
Brockton, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Brookline, Table II
Bryce, James, quoted, 17, 112, 179
Buck, A. E., quoted, 162
Budget bureaus, 168, 171, 176
Budget distribution, 28, 29, 47 ff; affected by costs, 136, 147-149, 154-156; by service rating, 148, 150-156; by size, 136, 141-144, 153-156; by time, 136-141, 151, 153-156; by wealth, 136, 143, 145-147, 154-156; basis of comparison of, 5-7; English municipal, 7-9; ideal, 4, 27, 141, 156-158; methods of determining, 47-51; restrictions upon, 162 ff.
Budget making procedure, 29, 162-175
Buffalo, 61, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX; budget making procedure, 163, 171-172, 175, 176, 177
Buffalo Evening News, quoted, 172
Butte, Table II

California, 113, 115
Cambridge, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Camden, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Canton, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Cedar Rapids, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Census Bureau, 137
Central cities, 113

Centralized authority, 23
Charities, appropriations for, 8-9, 138 ff., 159, 161, 178; index, 60
Charleston, S. C., 16, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Charleston, W. Va., Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Charlotte, Table II
Charts
  Budget distribution, 1905-1928, 140
  Police appropriations according to service rating, 151
  Charity appropriations according to service rating, 152
  School appropriations according to service rating, 152
  Library appropriations according to service rating, 153
  Recreation appropriations according to service rating, 153
Chattanooga, Table II
Checks and balances, theory of, 18
Chelsea, Table II
Chester, Table II
Chicago, 82, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX; budget making procedure, 163, 164-166, 168, 176, 177
Chicopee, Table II
Cicero, Table II
Cincinnati, 3, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
City manager cities, 116
City planning, 99, 101, 102
Classification of cities by size, 141-142
Cleanliness, 103
Cleveland, 3, 61, 82, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX; budget making procedure, 163, 169-171, 175, 176, 177
Colorado, 113, 115
Colorado Springs, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Columbia, Table II
Columbus, Ga., Table II
Columbus, O., Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Comparative method in city government, 181-182
Connecticut, 113
Cost accounting, 54, 55, 110
Costs of government, 30, 53, 54, 55, 112, 116-122, 127-132, 133, 134, 161; effect upon budget distribution, 136, 147-149, 154-156; effect upon service rating, 112, 116-122
Council Bluffs, 4, Table II
County relationships, 165, 166, 172-173, 177-178
Covington, Table II
Crime statistics, 60-62, 64

Dallas, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Dalton, Hugh, quoted, 42, 45
Danville, Table II
Davenport, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Dayton, O., Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Decatur, Table II
Deibler, Frederick S., quoted, 24
Denver, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Des Moines, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Detroit, 61, 82, 97, 114, 181, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX; budget making procedure, 163, 164, 168-169, 175, 176, 177
Diseases, communicable, 62, 63
Dog licenses, 177
Dubuque, Table II
Duluth, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Durham, Table II

East Chicago, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
East Orange, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
East St. Louis, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Easton, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Economy, 13, 14, 15, 22, 161
Education, See Schools
Efficiency, 13, 14, 15, 22-23, 54, 55
El Paso, Table II
Elgin, Table II

Elizabeth, Tables II, III, IV
Elmira, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Emmons, Frederick Earle, quoted, 65
English municipal budgets, 7-9
Erie, Table II
Evanston, Table II
Evansville, Table II
Everett, 133, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX

Fall River, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Financial administration, rules of, 27
Financial statistics of cities, 4, 5, 6, 8, 58, 63, 117, 137, 145
Fines, 177
Fire protection, appropriations for, 138 ff.; index, 58, 66, 67, Tables I, II, III
Fitchburg, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Flint, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Florida, 113
Fort Wayne, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Fort Worth, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Fresno, Table II
Functions selected for index, 57-58

Galveston, Table II
Garbage collection, 103; index, Tables I, II, III
Gardiner, A. G., quoted, 30
Gary, Table II
General government, appropriations for, 8, 138 ff.
Geographical location, effect upon service rating, 112, 113-115
Gladstone, William Ewart, quoted, 30
Government, effect of form upon service rating, 112, 115-116
Grades of cities, Tables III, IV; by states, 113
Grading system, methods, 67, 82; preliminary assumptions, 53, 56; requirements, 53; results, 83 ff., 109-110
Graft, 12, 15, 22, 24
Grand Rapids, 25, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Green Bay, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Greensboro, Table II
Griffith, Ernest S., quoted, 16
Group pressure, 47, 178
Growth of cities, 16, 17, 21
Guest, Harold W., quoted, 43 ff.

Hamilton, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Hammond, Table II
Hamtramck, Table II
Harcourt, William, quoted, 30
Harrisburg, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Hartford, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Haverhill, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Hazleton, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Health, appropriations for, 8-9, 10, 138 ff.; index, 58, 66, 67, Tables I, II, III
Highland Park, 82, Tables II, III
Highways, appropriations for, 8, 138 ff., 177; index, Tables I, II, III
Hoboken, Table II
Hollander, Jacob H., quoted, 136
Holyoke, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Home Rule, 23, 115-116, 169
Honesty, 12, 13, 14, 15, 22, 161
Hospitals, 59
Houston, Tables II, III, IV
Huntington, Table II

Ideal budget distribution, See Budget distribution, ideal
Ideals, municipal, 2
Illinois, 113
Indexes, functional, 63
Indiana, 113

Indianapolis, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Iowa, 113

Jackson, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Jacksonian democracy, 19
Jacksonville, 114, Tables II, III, IV
Jamestown, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Jensen, Jens P., quoted, 133
Jersey City, Table II
Johnstown, Table II
Joliet, Table II

Kalamazoo, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Kansas City, Kan., 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Kansas City, Mo., 9, 115, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Kenosha, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Knoxville, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Kokomo, Table II

La Crosse, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Laissez-faire, 40
Lakewood, 67, 82, Tables, II, III
Lancaster, Table II
Lansing, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Lawrence, Table II
Lewiston, Table II
Lexington, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Libraries, appropriations for, 138 ff., 176, 177; index, 59, 66, 67, Tables I, II, III
Lima, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Lincoln, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Little Rock, Table II
Long ballot, 20
Long Beach, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Lorain, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Los Angeles, 61, 114, Tables II, III, IV
Louisville, 114, 134, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Lowell, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Lynchburg, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Lynn, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX

MacDonald, Austin F., quoted, 16, 19
McKeesport, Table II
MacMillin, Frederick N., quoted, 167
Macon, Table II
Madison, Table II
Magazines, municipal, 181
Malden, Table II
Manchester, Table II
Marginal utility, theory of, 32, 41-47, 178
Markets, as measuring device, 48
Maryland, 115
Massachusetts, 113
Medford, Table II
Memphis, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Methods of administration, 53, 54, 55
Miami, 127, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Michigan, 113, 115
Mill, John Stuart, quoted, 40
Milwaukee, 3, 61, 83, 98 ff., 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX; budget making procedure, 163, 166-168, 175, 176, 178, 181; Public Museum, 105-106; sewage disposal plant, 106-108
Minneapolis, 9, 12, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Minnesota, 113, 115
Miscellaneous appropriations, 8, 138 ff.
Missouri, 113, 115
Mobile, Table II
Moline, Table II
Montgomery, Table II
Mount Vernon, Table II

Muncie, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Municipal magazines, 181
Municipal organizations, 180-181
Municipal research, 179, 180
Municipal statistics, 137
Muskegon, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Muskogee, Table II

Nashville, 96, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Nebraska, 115
New Bedford, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
New Britain, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
New Brunswick, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
New Castle, Table II
New England cities, 113, 115
New Haven, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
New Jersey, 113
New Orleans, 5-6, 16, 114, 134, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
New Rochelle, Table II
New York City, 12, 16, 61, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
New York State, 113, 115, 116
Newark, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Newburgh, Table II
Newport News, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Newton, 134, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Niagara Falls, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Nicholson, J. Shield, quoted, 41
Norfolk, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Norristown, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX

Oak Park, 82, Tables II, III
Oakland, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Ogden, 4, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Ohio, 113, 115-116
Oklahoma, 115
Oklahoma City, Tables II, III, IV
Omaha, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Orange, Table II
Oregon, 115
Organizations, municipal, 180-181
Osaka, 135
Oshkosh, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX

Pacific Coast cities, 113, 115
Park appropriations, See Recreation, appropriations for
Park index, 59, Tables, I, II, III
Parks, 99-101, 102
Pasadena, Table II
Passaic, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Paterson, Table II
Pawtucket, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Peck, Harvey W., quoted, 42-43
Pennsylvania, 113, 115, 116
Peoria, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Per capita basis of distribution, 5-7
Percentage basis of distribution, 5-7
Perth Amboy, Table II
Petersburg, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Philadelphia, 12, 16, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX; budget making procedure, 163, 172-174, 176, 177
Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, quoted, 110-111
Pittsburgh, 12, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Pittsfield, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Police, appropriations for, 8-9, 138 ff., 159, 161, 176-177; index, 58, 63; pensions, 177
Politics, 24
Pontiac, 61, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Portland, Me., Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX

Portland, Ore., 114, Tables II, III, IV
Portsmouth, O., Table II
Portsmouth, Va., Table II
Poughkeepsie, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Press, influence of, 179-180
Pro rata basis of distribution, 5-7
Proportion, 12, 14, 15, 24-27, 30, 141
Providence, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Public opinion, 11, 47, 48-49, 178
Pueblo, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX

Quincy, Ill., Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Quincy, Mass., Table II

Racine, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Rating of cities, Tables III, IV; by states, 113
Ratings, checks upon, 108-109
Reading, Table II
Recreation, appropriations for, 8-9, 138 ff., 160, 161, 177
Reed College statistical survey of cities, 114
Reed, Thomas H., quoted, 18, 19, 21-22, 23, 52
Reform era, 13, 22, 23
Research bureaus, 180
Results of government, 53, 57
Results of survey, 83 ff., 109-110
Richmond, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Ridley, Clarence E., 58
Roanoke, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Rochester, 61, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Rock Island, Table II
Rockford, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Rogers, Gardner S., quoted, 12, 15

Sacramento, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Saginaw, Table II
St. Joseph, Table II
St. Louis, 3, 12, 114, 115, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
St. Paul, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
St. Petersburg, Table II
Salem, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Salt Lake City, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
San Antonio, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
San Diego, 25, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
San Francisco, 98, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
San José, 4, Table II
Sanitation, appropriations for, 8, 138 ff.
Satellite cities, 82
Savannah, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Sax, Emil, 32, 33
Say, J. B., quoted, 40
Schenectady, Table II
School attendance, 59, 64-65
Schools, appropriations for, 8-9, 138 ff., 160, 176; index, 58, 65, Tables I, II, III
Scranton, 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Seattle, 114, Tables II, III, IV
Seligman, E. R. A., quoted, 65
Service rating, Tables III, IV, by states, 113; effect upon budget distribution, 148, 150-156
Sewage disposal, 106-108
Sewerage index, Tables I, II, III
Sheboygan, 98 ff., Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Shirras, G. Findlay, quoted, 1, 45
Shreveport, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Sioux City, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Size, effect upon budget distribution, 136, 141-144, 153-156; effect upon rating, 112, 113
Snow removal, 104
Somerville, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX

South Bend, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Southern cities, 113, 114, 115
Spokane, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Springfield, Ill., 114, Table II
Springfield, Mass., 96, 98 ff., 133, 134, 181, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX; civic group, 103; population, 101; water supply, 104-105
Springfield, Mo., Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Springfield, O., Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Stamford, Table II
Standards, 3, 22, 30, 31, 51, 52, 109, 134, 135, 161, 181
Statistical data relating to each city, Table II
Statistics, municipal, 137
Steffens, Lincoln S., quoted, 24
Stockton, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Street cleaning index, 66, Tables I, II, III
Superior, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Syracuse, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX

Tables:
I. Functional indexes, 63-65
II. Statistical data relating to each city, 68-81
III. Rating of cities by functions, 84-93
IV. Rank of cities according to service rating, 95
V. Comparison of service rating and costs, 118-121
VI. Average service rating for cost groups, 122
VII. Comparison of service rating and wealth, 123-126
VIII. Average service rating for wealth groups, 127
IX. Comparison of wealth and costs, 128-131
X. Average costs for wealth groups, 132
XI. Budget distribution, 1905-1928, 139
XII. Budget distribution in cities grouped by size, 144
XIII. Budget distribution according to wealth, 146
XIV. Budget distribution according to costs, 149
XV. Budget distribution according to service rating, 150
XVI. Functional tendencies with respect to time, size, wealth, costs and service rating, 154
XVII. Budget distribution of cities with highest service rating in each size group, 157
Tacoma, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Tammany Hall, 12, 21
Tampa, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Taunton, Table II
Tennessee, 113
Terre Haute, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Texas, 113, 115
Theory of city government, 15, 16
Time, effect upon budget distribution, 136-141, 151, 153-156
Toledo, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Topeka, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Trenton, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Troy, Table II
Tulsa, Table II
Tweed, Boss, 13

Union City, Table II
U. S. Bureau of the Census, 137
Utica, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX

Veblen, Thorstein, quoted, 46
Virginia, 113

Waco, Table II
Waltham, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX

Washington, 113, 115
Washington, D. C., 114, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Waterbury, Table II
Waterfront development, 99, 100, 101, 102
Waterloo, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Watertown, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Wealth, 127, 132, 134; criterion of, 143; effect upon budget distribution, 136, 143, 145-147, 154-156; effect upon service rating, 112, 122-127
Weighting, 65-66
Wheeling, Table II
Wichita, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Wichita Falls, Table II
Wieser, Friedrich von, quoted, 32, 33
Wilkes-Barre, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Williamsport, Table II
Wilmington, Del., 133, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Wilmington, N. C., Table II
Winston-Salem, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Wisconsin, 113, 115, 116
Woonsocket, Table II
Worcester, Table II

Yonkers, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
York, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX
Youngstown, Tables II, III, IV, V, VII, IX

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